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Tomorrow's Prisons:

Designing the future prison estate

Rick Muir and Ian Loader

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Institute for Public Policy Research

Challenging ideas – Changing policy

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About ippr

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About Wates Giving

Wates Giving is a charitable programme focused on making a real difference to communities for the long term. The programme is run and funded by the Wates Family Enterprise Trust, which was set up by the Wates Family owners in 2008 with the aim of strengthening the role business has to play in society.

Since the launch of Wates Giving, over £1.9m has been invested in local initiatives. The majority of these are proposed and championed by Wates people. Projects currently underway include: redeveloping community centres, supporting programmes to reduce anti-social behaviour, investing in prisoner rehabilitation schemes and supporting education resources.

Executive summary

The aim of ippr's Tomorrow's Prisons project is to set out an ambitious agenda for redesigning the prison estate in England and Wales. It asks what the prisons of the future should look like and how the estate as a whole should be reconfigured in order to facilitate the rehabilitation of offenders.

Until now the prisons debate has focused almost exclusively on sentencing and the question of who should be sent to prison in the first place. While these questions are important, far too little consideration has been given to the kind of prisons we want. As a result we continue to build the same types of prison, even when we know they are failing to rehabilitate offenders.

With much of the prison estate far too old to meet modern needs, there is an urgent need for fresh thinking about what we do in our prisons – and how they should be designed to facilitate those objectives. This project, of which this paper is the first output, aims to provide such new thinking by setting out a challenging but achievable agenda for change.

Findings

The current state of our prisons

Our audit shows that the prisons of England and Wales face multiple and serious challenges:

- The prison estate is perilously overcrowded.
- Our prisons are not rehabilitating offenders effectively.
- There are very many people in prison who would be better rehabilitated in alternative settings.
- Prisons are poorly located around the country: they are sited too far from the communities offenders come from, which hinders resettlement.
- The estate is ageing, with a third of our prisons being more than a century old and another half over 50 years old.

The impact of prison design on penal outcomes

Interviews with stakeholders from within the prison service and the wider penal reform community, as well as a review of the prison design literature, reveal that a range of prison estate characteristics are likely to impact on rehabilitation. These are:

- The overall mixture of penal institutions in the system
- The function of those institutions
- Where they are located geographically.

Turning to individual prisons, a number of characteristics of prison design are likely to affect penal outcomes:

- Size
- Relationship with the outside community
- Security and safety measures
- The role of purposeful activity in the life of a prison.

Conclusions: Two alternative futures

We see two alternative futures for the prison estate:

- We can continue on our present course, expanding the estate by building ever larger prisons based on standard designs. This might seem like the politically safer course, but it is a highly costly one and will do little to address the challenges identified.

- We can embrace an ambitious but practical agenda of prison modernisation, which would create a more diverse range of penal institutions that are smaller, locally rooted, specialised and focused on rehabilitating prisoners.

The report sets the scene for the second phase of the project, which will set out in detail what that alternative scenario could look like and how the political, financial and practical challenges to it can be overcome.

1. Introduction

Britain's prisons are in crisis. Around a third of the prison estate was built over a century ago – and half over 50 years ago. Partly for this reason our prisons are expensive to run and maintain. The direct cost of holding each prisoner comes to around £39,000 a year – or £100 a night per prisoner. Our prisons are overcrowded and consequently indecent: around a quarter of prisoners are sharing cells designed to hold one person less.

Crucially, our prisons do not work – at least in terms of rehabilitating those convicted of crime. 55 per cent of prisoners re-offend within two years of release and 39 per cent with one year (Home Office 2007, Ministry of Justice 2009a). We are spending vast sums of money on holding people in institutions that appear to make them more, rather than less, likely to offend when they leave. This represents a monumental failure of public policy.

This paper from ippr is the first output of a wider project on the future of the prison estate, called Tomorrow's Prisons. We believe that 2010 represents an opportunity to re-think what we do in our prisons. Whichever party wins the general election will need to face up to the challenge of redeveloping an ageing and overcrowded estate.

Moreover, the recession and the dire state of the public finances provide a powerful rationale for doing things differently and an opportunity to chart a different course. The prison estate itself is an enormous piece of property portfolio, rapidly ageing, inefficient and ineffective from the point of view of rehabilitating prisoners. We should grasp the opportunity of the current budget deficit to radically re-think how we use that portfolio and the options for redevelopment. The prize, if it can be grasped, would be one of a modern and decent prison estate that would change prisoners' lives for the better and reduce the cost to the taxpayer of running our prisons.

This project steps beyond the traditional debate about penal policy. That debate focuses on sentencing and whether or not there should be so many people in prison in the first place. While these questions are vital and while the redevelopment of the estate has to be linked to wider criminal justice reform, there has been much less public discussion about the kind of prisons we want. This project is intended to fill that gap.

One hundred years ago Winston Churchill said that the civilisation of a society should be judged by how it treats its prisoners (Ramsbotham 2003). That is no less true today. Almost every commentator, including the most liberal, recognises that we will always need prisons to deal with serious and violent offenders. Yet there has been relatively little discussion about what modern and effective prisons should look like. What facilities should a modern prison have? How does the design of a prison impact on the rehabilitation we want to see? How should the prison relate to the community in which it sits? Can we even talk of such a thing as a 'good prison'?

Structure of the report

This report first surveys the current prison portfolio, describing the make-up of the estate and those who populate it. Secondly, it scopes out the key challenges facing the estate in the coming decade. Finally, on the basis of interviews with key stakeholders and a review of the prison design literature, it sets out those features of prison design that need to change if we are to rehabilitate prisoners more effectively.

This is a scoping paper, intended to frame the second phase of the Tomorrow's Prisons project, which will set out an ambitious but feasible agenda for modernising Britain's prisons. It will explore in detail the configuration of the future estate, the kind of facilities modern prisons should have and how they could be better designed to aid rehabilitation.

2. Prison design and public policy

This paper focuses on *prison design* in two senses. First, it examines the overall design of the prison estate: where our prisons are located, what type of prisons are required to meet the needs of different types of offender, and how prisons should relate to the rest of the criminal justice system and other public services.

Second, it asks what the prisons of the future should look like: can we improve on the standard models of prison design we have? What lessons can we learn from prison design in other countries? What are the key characteristics of a 'good prison'?

This focus on prison design is contentious – indeed, many in the penal reform community argue that we should leave this question well alone. They argue that prison does not work in terms of rehabilitation and that we should focus on developing alternatives to it. They contend that unless we deal with the causes of prison overcrowding – mainly public, media and political pressure for tougher sentences – it doesn't matter how well designed prisons are: they will simply be swamped by unsustainable numbers. To discuss prison design, these sceptics argue, is to avoid the most important questions.

This argument is right in an important sense: we cannot deliver proper rehabilitation until we look at alternatives to custody and deal with the overcrowding problem. This requires reform to the wider criminal justice system – as well as wider social change. We need more effective community-based alternatives to custody, greater investment in drug treatment programmes in the community, and to divert people with mental health problems into supportive programmes before they get caught up in the criminal justice system.

Let's be clear: reform to the wider criminal justice system to better rehabilitate offenders and reduce the prison population is a prerequisite to achieving the aims set out in this paper. We know that prison is not the right place to rehabilitate very many offenders and we know that we cannot effectively rehabilitate in overcrowded conditions. In simple practical terms, we cannot modernise ageing prisons unless we reduce the numbers and have some surplus spaces to move people into.

However, the question of design remains important and unavoidable. Even if we did succeed in reducing the prison population, we will always need prisons to contain serious and violent offenders. At some point in the decade ahead the question of how to redevelop and modernise the ageing prison estate will need to be addressed.

We should also make it clear that prison design is less important in terms of outcomes than the kind of regimes that are run in our prisons: for example, how much time is spent on productive activity or the kind of drug treatment or mental health services available. Nevertheless the design of a prison can impede or facilitate the implementation of any particular penal regime. The amount of time spent on productive activity depends in part on how integrated prisoners' living accommodation is with educational or employment facilities. If these two components of prison life are highly segregated it makes it much more difficult to increase the amount of time prisoners can spend learning or working.

Without falling into a form of architectural determinism, we know from other public policy domains that the way institutions are designed plays an important role in the social outcomes they affect. For example, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) has found that newly designed hospital wards can have a significant impact on treatment times, the degree of verbal abuse to which staff are subjected and patients' satisfaction with their treatment (Allsop 2007).

The power of prison design to affect people both within and outside prison walls was well understood by those who built prisons in the 18th and 19th centuries; many of these still stand today (Johnson 1973). Prison exteriors were deliberately crafted to instil fear and communicate a message of deterrence. The interiors were designed to change the prisoner in

certain ways, especially through a focus on solitary personal reflection in individual cells. It is true that then, and now, the overwhelming priority in prison design was control and containment, rather than rehabilitation.

If we are to change prisons into more rehabilitative institutions, progressives need to think about how they look, work and feel – and the impact this has on those detained within them.

3. An overview of the prison estate

There are 140 prisons in England and Wales¹ (see Appendix C, p39). The majority are run by Her Majesty's Prisons Service (HMPS), and 11 by private contractors.

Prisons are categorised as 'open' or 'closed'. Most prisons are closed prisons, of which there are three kinds:

- *Local prisons*: prisoners are sent here on remand, before they have been tried or sentenced, or immediately upon sentencing. Depending on the length of their sentence they are then allocated to a training prison.
- *Training prisons*: the majority of prisons are training prisons, which hold prisoners once they have left their local prison or have been transferred from another training prison. They are categorised as A, B, C or D depending on their level of security.
- *High security prisons*: this is a special category of training prison, holding Category A and B prisoners who would pose a high risk to the public were they to escape. There are currently eight high security prisons.

All adult prisoners are allocated to a particular security category and then to an appropriate training prison:

- *Category A* prisoners are thought to be highly dangerous to the public or a threat to national security should they escape and the aim is to make their escape impossible.
- *Category B* prisoners are those for whom the highest degree of security is not necessary but for whom escape must be made very difficult.
- *Category C* is for those who cannot be trusted in open conditions but who lack the will or resources to make a determined escape attempt.
- *Category D* is for those who can be reasonably trusted in open conditions.

In addition to the majority of adult male prisons, there are 13 adult female prisons holding just over 4,000 women prisoners. The Prison Service also provides secure accommodation for young adults (aged 18–20), young people aged 17 who are on remand, and 15–17 year old males and 17 year old females who have been given a custodial sentence. There are approximately 2,600 young men and around 70 young women in prison service custody. They are held in Young Offender Institutions (YOIs) (HM Prison Service 2009b).

Who is in prison?

There are 84,231 people in prison in England and Wales (Ministry of Justice 2009). Figures 3.1–3.3 below show how this population breaks down in terms of the types of offences committed, the length of sentence of the prison population and the length of sentence of those received into custody in 2008.

1. This paper is concerned with the prison estate in England and Wales. For a brief comparison with the challenges facing the prison estates of Scotland and Northern Ireland see Muir (2010). Scotland faces similar pressures in terms of overcrowding, while Northern Ireland has seen its prison population fall as a result of the peace process.

Figure 3.1.
The prison population by offence type, 2008

Note: Sentenced prisoners

Source: Ministry of Justice 2009b

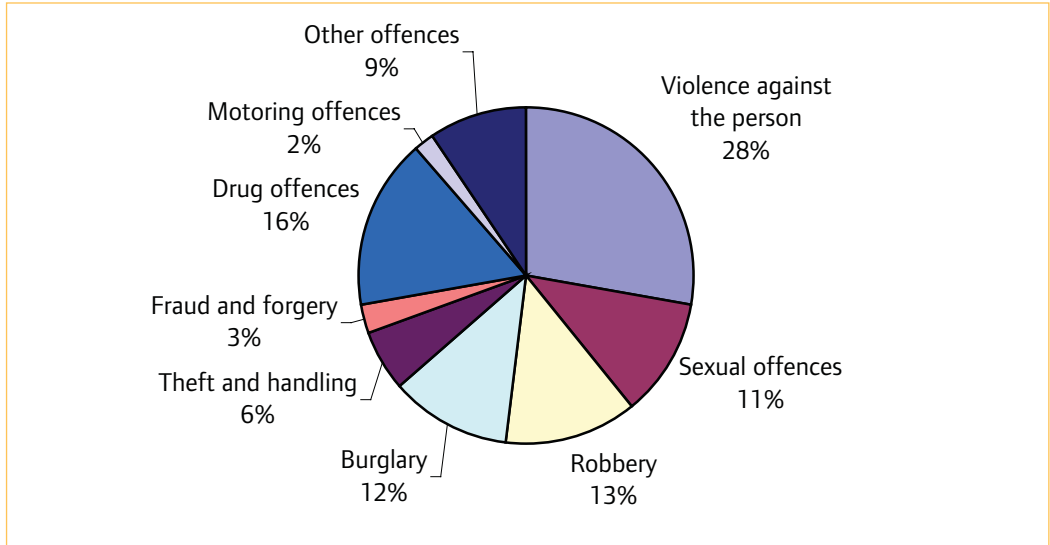
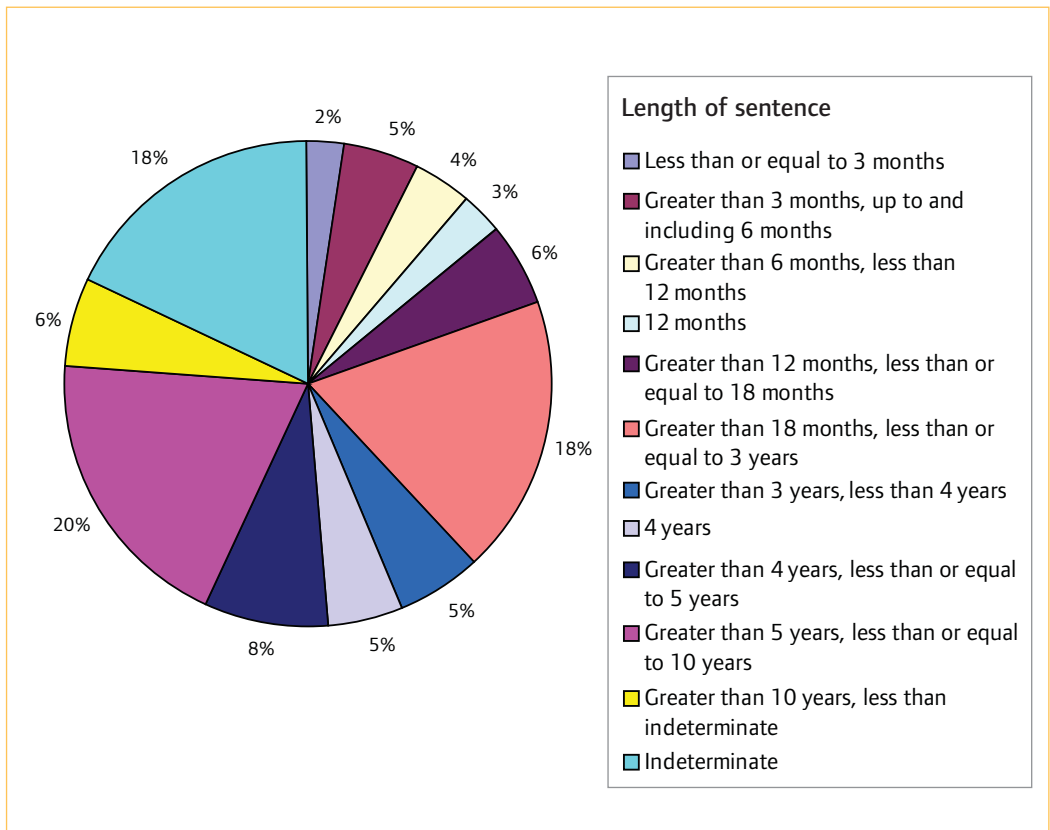


Figure 3.2.
The prison population by sentence duration, June 2008

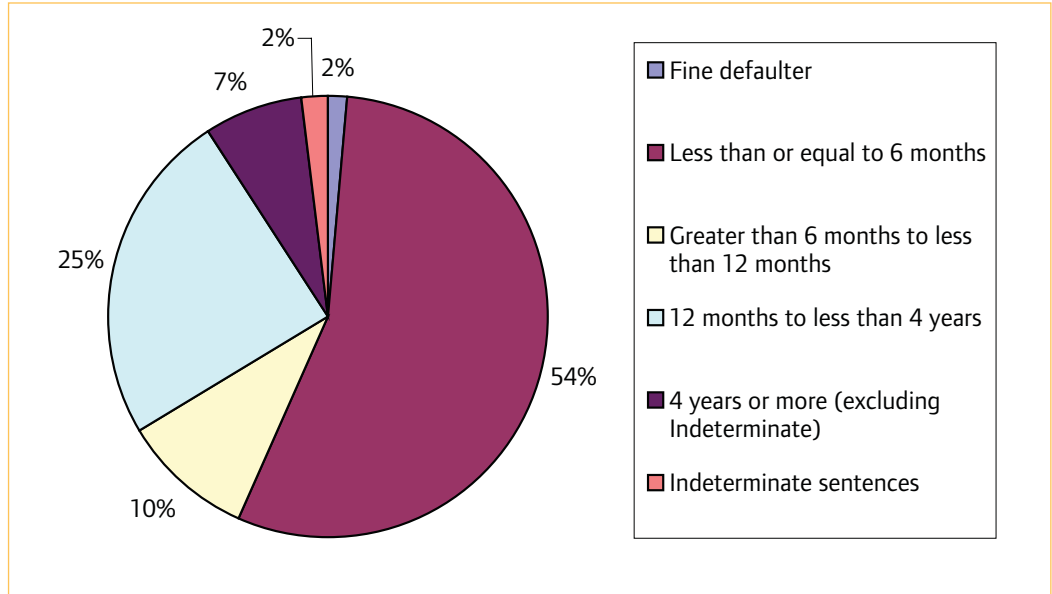
Source: ibid



These charts show that although short-stay prisoners (those with sentences under 12 months) represent just 11 per cent of the prison population at any one time, they make up the majority of those sentenced prisoners received into custody throughout the year (64 per cent). In other words while a snapshot of our prisons would tell you that short-stay prisoners are only around a tenth of the population, over the course of the year they make up the majority of the 'churn' in prison population.

Figure 3.3.
Receptions into custody of sentenced prisoners by sentence length, 2008

Source: ibid



Figures 3.4 to 3.6 show the demographic characteristics of those in prison:

- Figure 3.4 shows that the prison population has been getting older over time, with a sharp rise in the numbers aged over 40. This has been caused both by the longer length of sentences and the increasing number of indeterminate sentences issued.
- Figure 3.5 shows the gender mix in our prisons, demonstrating a rise in the proportion of women in our prisons, growing from 2,367 in 1998 (4.5 per cent of the total) to 3,535 (5.1 per cent of the total) in 2008.
- Figure 3.6 shows the ethnic make-up of the prison population. Black and minority ethnic groups are over-represented in the prison population, making up 27 per cent of the total, compared to just 12 per cent of the population as a whole.

Figure 3.4.
The prison population by age, 1998 to 2008

Note: Sentenced prisoners

Source: ibid

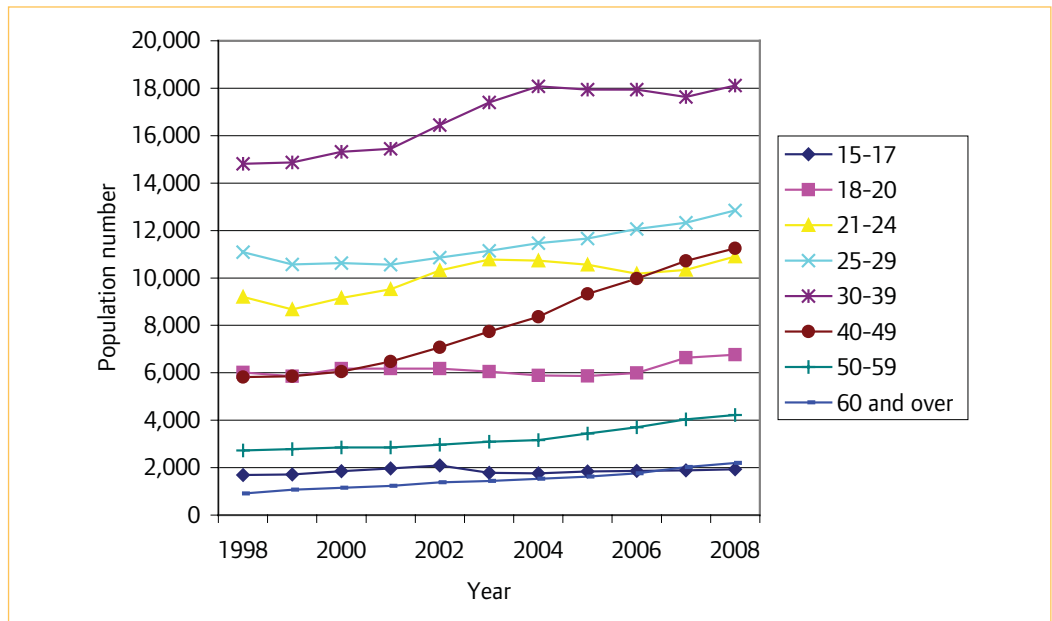


Figure 3.5. The prison population by gender, 1998 to 2008

Source: *ibid*

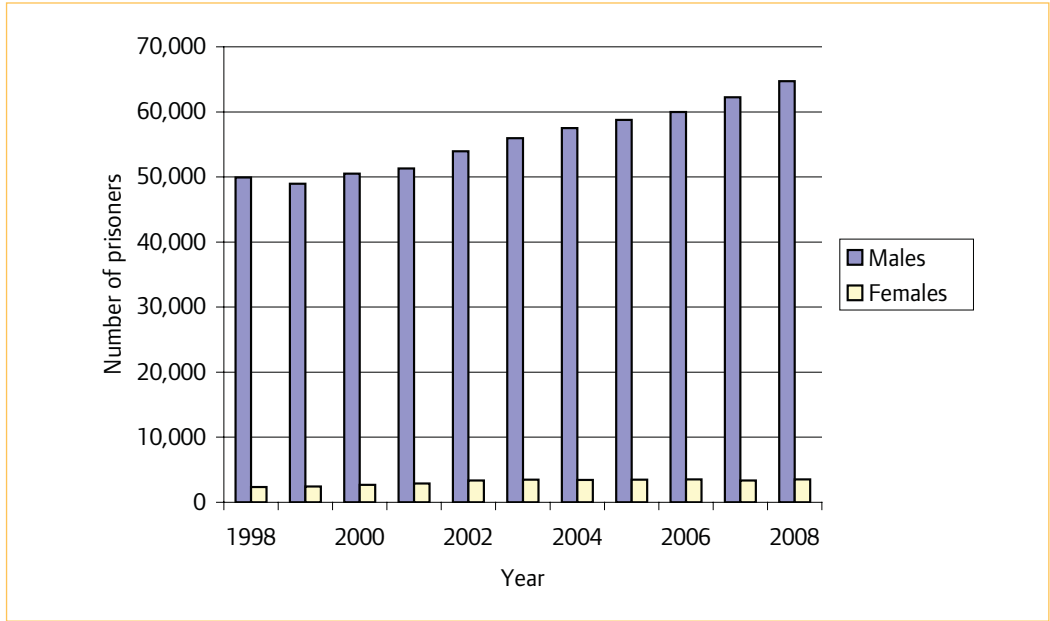
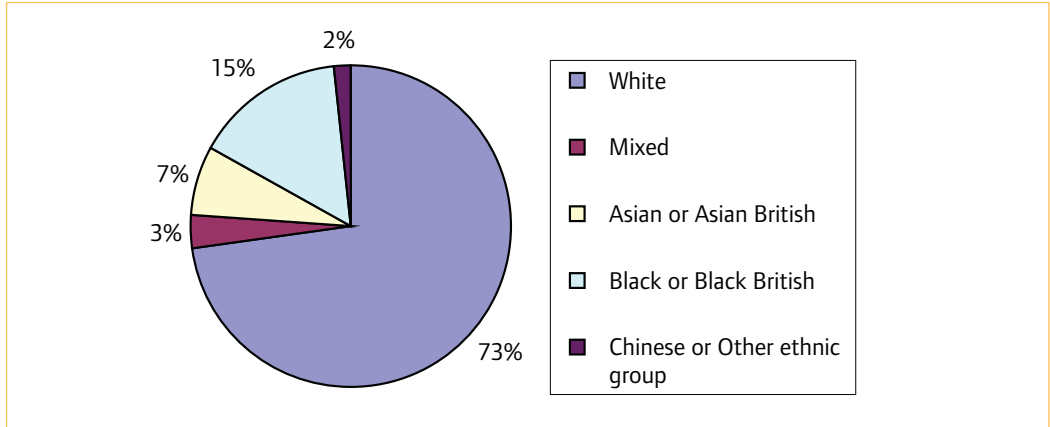


Figure 3.6. The prison population by ethnicity, 1998 to 2008

Source: *ibid*



Figures collated by the Government's Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in 2002 compared the social characteristics of prisoners with those of the population as a whole. Table 3.1 demonstrates very clearly that prisoners overwhelmingly come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds.

As the Social Exclusion Unit summarised at the time:

...before they ever come into contact with the prison system, most prisoners have a history of social exclusion, including high levels of family, educational and health disadvantage and poor prospects in the labour market. The failure of mainstream agencies to deal with these aspects of social exclusion means that the Prison Service and Probation Service are in many cases being asked to put right a lifetime of service failure. (Social Exclusion Unit 2002: 18)

Table 3.1. Social characteristics of prisoners in England and Wales, 2002

Characteristic	Prisoners	General population
Ran away from home as a child	Male 47% Female 50%	M/F: 11%
Taken into care as a child	27%	2%
Family member convicted of a criminal offence	43%	16%
Unmarried	85% since imprisonment	39%
Divorced	9%	4%
Young father	25% of young offenders	4%
Lone parenthood	21% of women prisoners	9%
Regularly truanted from school	30%	3%
Excluded from school	Male 49% Female 33%	M/F: 2%
Left school at 16 or younger	Male 89% Female 84%	M/F: 32%
Attended a special school	Male 23% Female 11%	M/F: 1%
No qualifications	Male 52% Female 71%	M/F: 15%
Numeracy at or below Level 1 (expected at age 11)	65%	23%
Reading ability at or below Level 1	48%	21–23%
Unemployed	67% four weeks before imprisonment	M/F: 5%
Two or more mental disorders	Male 72% Female 70%	Male 5% Female 2%
Three or more mental disorders	Male 44% Female 62%	Male 1% Female 0%
Psychotic disorder	Male 7% Female 14%	Male 0.5% Female 0.6%
Personality disorder	Male 64% Female 50%	Male 5.4% Female 3.4%
Drug use in previous year	Male 66% Female 55%	Male 13% Female 8%
Hazardous drinking in previous year	Male 63% Female 39%	Male 38% Female 15%
Long-standing illness or disability	Male 49%	Men aged 18–49 29%
Smoking	Male 77% Female 82%	Male 28% Female 27%
In receipt of benefits	72% immediately before prison	13.7% working age population
Debt	48% history of debt	10% households with difficult or multiple debts
Sleeping rough	4.7% immediately before prison	0.001%
Homelessness	32% not in permanent accomm'n before imprisonment	0.9%

Source: Social Exclusion Unit 2002: 18–22

This section has scoped out the types of prison that exist across England and Wales and the characteristics of the prisoners held within them. We now turn to the challenges facing the prison estate.

4. The challenges facing the prison estate

Having provided a brief description of what the estate looks like and who is held within it, we now turn to the major challenges our prisons face. We present the multiple problems with the prisons system and then ask how imaginative prison design can help us meet these challenges.

Overcrowding

Latest figures – for December 2009 – show there are 84,231 people in prison in England and Wales. This is just 1,755 below existing useable operational capacity within the prison estate (Ministry of Justice 2009a). England and Wales have the second highest imprisonment rate in Western Europe, with 149 prisoners for every 100,000 people, compared to the European Union average of 102 per 100,000 (although that is in the context of one of the highest crime rates) (Centre for Social Justice 2009: 37).

Figure 4.1 shows the prison population and prison capacity from 1994 to 2015. The purple line shows operational capacity, which is defined as ‘the total number of prisoners that an establishment can hold taking into account control, security and the proper operation of the planned regime. It is determined by area managers on the basis of operational judgement and experience’ (HM Prison Service 2009a).

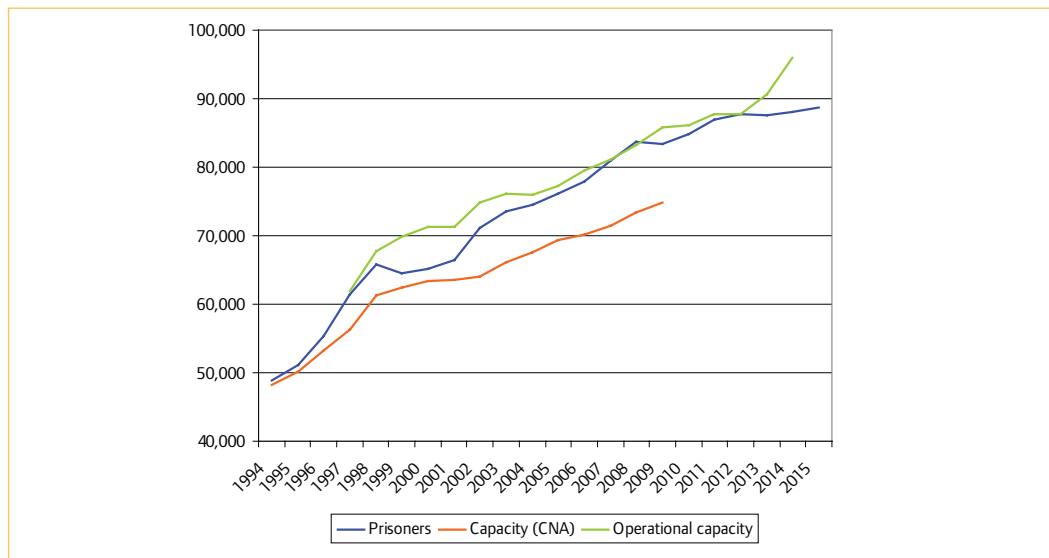
The green line shows Certified Normal Accommodation (CNA), or uncrowded capacity. It is defined as ‘the Prison Service’s own measure of accommodation. CNA represents the good, decent standard of accommodation that the Service aspires to provide all prisoners’ (HM Prison Service 2009b). The red line shows the overall prison population past, present and projected into the future.

What this graph shows is that the prison population rose significantly over the last two decades and this has pushed prison capacity to breaking point. In 2008 the numbers in prison exceeded the operational capacity of the estate, which led to many prisoners being held for prolonged periods in court and police cells. A similar crisis point is predicted for 2012, with the estate literally running out of capacity. However, if the rise in the prison population levels off as predicted and if the Government is successful in building the five new prisons it is planning, then there should be enough operational capacity to manage the numbers after 2012.

Unfortunately, even if we can physically contain the numbers required we can only do so in overcrowded conditions (the green line). Indeed our prisons have been overcrowded every year since 1994 and the average number of people held two to a cell certified for one increased from 9,498 in 1996/97 to 17,974 in 2006/07 (Centre for Social Justice 2009).

Figure 4.1.
Actual and projected prison capacity and population, 1994–2015

Sources: Prisoner numbers from Prison Reform Trust (1994 to 2008) and Ministry of Justice projections (2009 to 2015). See App. B for the figures behind this graph



Overcrowding has a number of alarming consequences. Among these are:

- Overcrowding breaches the standards of decency to which the prison service aspires. Around 17,000 prisoners are doubling up in cells designed for one person and over 1,000 are trebling up in cells designed for two people. This means that nearly a quarter of the prison population is housed in cells designed for one person less (Conservative Party 2008).
- Overcrowding poses a risk to prisoner safety: following the murder of Zahid Mubarek at the hands of his cellmate in 2000, the 2006 Mubarek report called for an end to enforced cell sharing (Zahid Mubarek Inquiry 2006). Given the current pressures on the estate this is impossible to do unless the numbers come down or capacity is dramatically increased.
- Overcrowding prevents a focus on rehabilitative activities because resources are stretched and too much staff time is spent on managing numbers.
- A situation of crisis management, with prisoners being placed simply wherever there is spare capacity, including in police or court cells, means that prisoners are not placed in appropriate institutions with the right programmes to tackle their offending behaviour.
- Overcrowding makes it impossible for the prison service to modernise ageing prisons, simply because there is no spare capacity to which prisoners can be moved while the work is carried out. Overcrowding is a fundamental obstacle to the redevelopment of the prison estate.

Briefly, the main causes of prison overcrowding are:

- Greater use of custodial sentences: there was a 40 per cent rise in the use of custodial sentences between 1997 and 2007 (Centre for Social Justice 2009).
- Longer custodial sentences: the average sentence length increased from 14.7 months in 1995 to 16.8 in 2005. The number of people serving sentences of over 12 months rose from 32,000 in 1995 to 54,000 by 2005, a 70 per cent increase (House of Commons Justice Committee 2008). The average length of sentences handed down by Magistrates Courts for robbery rose from 3.7 months in 1997 to 8.4 months in 2009. In the Crown Courts immediate custodial sentences for burglary increased by one month and drugs offences by five months over the same period (Centre for Social Justice 2009).
- The introduction of Imprisonment for Public Protection sentences means that prisoners can be held in prison indefinitely if the parole board judges that they are a risk to public safety. It is estimated that there may be 12,000 prisoners on IPPs by 2012, many more than the Government originally estimated, which puts significant additional pressure on the prison population (Prison Reform Trust 2007).

The increased use of custody and the longer length of sentences reflect what politicians take to be a punitive climate of public opinion, reflected and very likely intensified through the way the media, especially the tabloid press, reports crime. This has helped create a political logjam on penal reform, simply because no political party wants to be portrayed as 'soft on crime'.

While the Government has made it clear that it expects only serious and violent offenders to be sent to prison, the courts remain reluctant to use non-custodial sanctions such as community orders. The House of Commons Justice Committee in a recent report found that this was because the courts do not feel the public have confidence in these sentences, but also because they are not sufficiently resourced so that the courts can be confident that they can be effectively supervised and implemented (House of Commons Justice Committee 2008).

Prisons: ineffective at rehabilitation

We know that our prisons are generally ineffective at rehabilitating offenders: approximately 39 per cent of prisoners re-offend within one year of their release from prison and 55 per cent re-offend within two years (Home Office 2007, Ministry of Justice 2009a). The Government's Social Exclusion Unit found that four out of five adult male prisoners had previously been convicted of an offence and many of these had spent time in prison (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). While prison is intended to punish and contain those who have committed crimes, it is also widely believed that it should rehabilitate prisoners. These figures show that our prisons are comprehensively failing to do this.

While it is difficult to say how we compare with other nations, because the figures are not collected consistently, it is clear that some countries do better. Denmark has a reconviction rate within two years of 45 per cent and three Australian states have even lower rates of just 38 per cent within two years (ibid).

There is of course a human cost involved in the failure to rehabilitate: the wasted life of the offender concerned, and the impact on their future victims. But there is also an enormous financial cost. It is estimated that the cost just to the criminal justice system of crime committed by a re-offender was likely to be £65,000 per person every year, with the cost of prolific re-offenders running much higher. Overall, crime committed by ex-prisoners costs society well in excess of £12 billion every year (Centre for Social Justice 2009). If prison – or alternatives to it – could more effectively rehabilitate offenders, this would bring about considerable savings for the taxpayer.

The sad reality is that we know what works but are still not effectively providing it. In a groundbreaking 2002 report the Social Exclusion Unit identified the key factors that facilitate the rehabilitation of offenders – and concluded that our prisons are generally deficient in delivering them. These factors are described below.

Education and training

30 per cent of prisoners were regular truants at school, 49 per cent of male sentenced prisoners were excluded from school and 52 per cent of adult male prisoners have no qualifications at all.

Canadian research has found that participation in basic skills can reduce re-offending rates by 12 per cent. Another study found that prisoners who had not taken part in education programmes were three times more likely to be reconvicted than those who had. Of course improving literacy and raising skills levels also helps prisoners get jobs after release, which in turn is also a key factor in preventing re-offending (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

The Government has increased investment in education services in prison, rising from £57 million in 2001–2 to £156 million in 2006–7 (Centre for Social Justice 2009). However, although Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons, Anne Owers, has found an improvement in the quality of education provided in prisons, a quarter of the education provided was still found to be inadequate (HM Inspector of Prisons 2008).

The National Audit Office found that there was poor provision for prisoners on short sentences, that only a quarter of prisoners had been subject to an initial educational assessment and that a third of prisoner learning plans were inadequate and did not specify which course prisoners should enrol in (Centre for Social Justice 2009). A number of the experts interviewed by ippr argued that the kind of educational provision made in prisons was at far too basic a level and was not therefore ambitious enough to meet the needs of all prisoners.

Employment

Most prisoners are unemployed when they enter prison, most have spent much of their life outside stable employment and most who have a job when they enter prison, lose it. The

Social Exclusion Unit found that being in employment after prison reduces the risk of re-offending by between a third and a half (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

And yet employment within prison and help to gain employment after release remain poor in quantity and quality. Within prison work is generally low-skill and menial in character: prisoners can work to maintain and service the prison itself (in the kitchen, the laundry or the grounds), or do repetitive manual or some more skilled work for external contractors or internal consumption.

There is not enough work to go round: there are just 32,000 work places for over 80,000 prisoners (Centre for Social Justice 2009). Work in prison has also been found to be ill suited to the needs of the labour market, meaning that prisoners are not well prepared on release. On leaving prison, prisoners get little help finding employment: one study found that only one in five who had a job or were looking for one had received help or advice in prison (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

Drug and alcohol misuse

The majority of prisoners have a history of drug and alcohol misuse: two thirds of prisoners had used illegal drugs in the year prior to going into prison, with around a quarter overall using crack cocaine or heroin. Three fifths of male prisoners and two fifths of female prisoners admitted to hazardous drinking prior to imprisonment (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

One recent report found that 'drugs flow like rivers through our prison system' (Centre for Social Justice 2009: 116). In 2006 40 per cent of prisoners admitted to using drugs in their current prison and the Home Office has found that 75 per cent of prisoners say they have taken drugs while in prison (ibid).

All prisoners have access to a form of clinical intervention, such as detoxification or maintenance, and CARAT (Counselling, Assessment, Referral, Advice and Throughcare) workers operate in all prisons. However, only 11,000 of the 135,000 interventions delivered in 2007–8 were intensive rehabilitation programmes and only 7,412 prisoners completed drug treatment programmes during that period. Given that most prisoners have drug problems, it is clear that demand outstrips supply (Centre for Social Justice 2009).

Research has also found that coordination between prison programmes and community-based services after release is very patchy. The Inspectorate concluded in its annual report of 2006/7 that treatment for alcohol misuse remained inadequate (HM Inspector of Prisons 2007).

Mental health

The statistics on the mental health of prisoners are truly shocking:

- 72 per cent of male and 70 per cent of female sentenced prisoners suffer from two or more mental health disorders, 14 and 35 times the level in the population as a whole respectively.
- 64 per cent of male and 50 per cent of female prisoners have a personality disorder.
- 20 per cent of male and 15 per cent of female prisoners have previously been admitted to a mental hospital.
- 7 per cent of male and 14 per cent of female sentenced prisoners have a psychotic disorder.
- 95 per cent of young prisoners aged 15 to 21 suffer from a mental disorder and 80 per cent suffer from at least two.
- 20 per cent of male and 37 per cent of female sentenced prisoners have previously attempted suicide. Every year 50 prisoners commit suicide upon release.

It is widely believed that custody worsens mental illness and increases the risk of suicide and self-harm (Bradley 2009). The environment and culture of a prison is not conducive to good mental health and emotional well-being, which depends on factors such as access to nature and the stimulation of the senses, regular physical exercise, purposeful activity, the development of a positive self-identity and positive social and family relationships (HM Inspector of Prisons 2007). Of course, prison by its very nature removes many of these things from a prisoner's life.

Numerous reports continue to find that too many people with mental illnesses are being caught up in the prison system due to a lack of early treatment and care. The Bradley Report on mental health and the criminal justice system found that the system fails to assess or understand mental health issues early enough in the offender pathway (Bradley 2009). Youth offending teams and the police have very little training in how to identify and deal with mental health issues. Mental health diversionary schemes do exist in courts, but there are often not enough places, leaving sentencers with custody as their only option.

Within prison mental health services have improved, but still suffer from major deficiencies. Mental health professionals are often not available when prisoners are received, screening for mental health problems upon transfer to another prison is poor and there is too little follow-up from the information received at the screening stage. Only 23 per cent of prison officers have received mental health training. There are delays in transferring prisoners to hospitals because of the lack of secure beds. There is very little family involvement in case planning and there is poor coordination for the continuity of treatment upon release (HM Inspector of Prisons 2007, Bradley 2009).

Attitudes and self-control

Most prisoners come from very socially excluded backgrounds and many see crime as the only way of life or will have grown up in an environment where crime is seen as acceptable. Prison can be an opportunity to challenge these attitudes: we know that offending behaviour programmes, used in prisons since 1992, can lower reconviction rates by 14 percentage points. But not all prisoners have access to these programmes and in particular there are too few programmes focused on short-stay prisoners (Social Exclusion Unit 2002, National Audit Office 2010).

We also know that restorative justice programmes in which offenders have to face their victims can dramatically lower reconviction rates (in one study by 27 per cent). And yet as one report found, restorative justice 'has been unimpressively presented, poorly understood and only sporadically implemented' (Centre for Social Justice 2009: 194; see also Sherman and Strang 2007).

Life skills and institutionalisation

Very many prisoners enter prison having spent much of their life without the basic skills required to live a normal life, sustain a job or a home, manage their finances or maintain relationships. Many have spent time in care as children, very many have played truant from school, most have spent considerable time unemployed, many have mental health and/or drug problems and many have weak or poor family relationships. Prison can make matters worse, simply because prison corrodes a prisoner's autonomy and sense of personal responsibility. This makes it even less likely that they will adapt successfully upon release.

Prisoners spend too little time out of their cells, engaged in the kind of purposeful activity that would enhance their sense of personal responsibility. The Social Exclusion Unit found that time spent unlocked from cells was only 9.5 hours on weekdays and 8.3 at weekends. The amount of time spent on purposeful activity ranged from 20 hours a week in local prisons to 42.4 in open training prisons (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

A recent National Audit Office report found that between a third and a half of short-sentenced prisoners are not involved in work or courses and spend almost all day in their cells (National Audit Office 2010). Looking at three different prisons, the NAO found that:

- at Lancaster Farms Young Offender Institution, short-sentenced prisoners undertook the equivalent of approximately one hour and 34 minutes of purposeful activity every weekday
- at HMP Doncaster, short-sentenced prisoners undertook an average of 31 minutes of purposeful activity every weekday
- at HMP Belmarsh, the average short-sentenced prisoner spent 74 per cent of weekdays doing nothing.

Maintaining family relationships

We know that the existence and maintenance of family relationships reduces re-offending and increases the chance that prisoners will settle back into community life once they have been released. The Ministry of Justice has found that offenders who receive family visits are significantly less likely to re-offend: the re-offending odds were up to 39 per cent higher for those who received no visits (Centre for Social Justice 2009). And yet as the Social Exclusion Unit found, families can be shut out: 'at every stage of a prisoner's movement through the criminal justice system, families are largely left out of the decision-making process and rarely get the opportunity to support prisoners effectively' (Social Exclusion Unit 2002: 111). The crime reduction charity Nacro found that 43 per cent of sentenced prisoners lost contact with their family after entering prison (ibid).

Prison tends to corrode family links:

- Many prisoners end up serving their sentence very far from the communities they come from, a problem exacerbated by overcrowding.
- In particular, women's prisons tend to be in remote rural areas with poor transport links, meaning it is very difficult for prisoners to see their children.
- Prisoners' families are generally from low-income backgrounds and so affording the cost of visits is a problem (though there is some support available through the Assisted Prison Visits scheme).
- Visitors' facilities in many prisons are poor, which adds to the nervousness many families feel around visiting prison.
- Families are generally not involved in sentence planning, despite evidence that their support can help reduce re-offending.

There are other factors that are known to aid rehabilitation, including the ability to maintain accommodation outside prison and help to sort out debt and benefit issues to aid resettlement upon release. What this brief summary has demonstrated, however, is that our prisons are generally not properly equipped to change lives and aid rehabilitation. The later parts of this paper will explore how changes to the design of the prison estate could help to change that.

Alternative settings would better rehabilitate many prisoners

A number of points can be made here. First, there are too many offenders sent to custody for less than six months for relatively minor offences. The nature of these offences suggests that they could appropriately be subject to non-custodial, community-based sentences. In 2008, of the 55,333 prisoners received for six months or less, 18,368 were convicted for theft or handling stolen goods and 5,610 for motoring offences. There were 17,624 convicted of 'other offences' that were not sexual or violent offences, and which are likely to include many that could be appropriately dealt with in the community (Ministry of Justice

2008). Although at any one time these short-term prisoners only amount to about 7 per cent of sentenced prisoners, their presence and movement through the system does take up a considerable amount of time and resource (ibid, Rethinking Crime and Punishment 2008).

Second, around 13,000 prisoners are on remand awaiting trial or sentencing. Rather than being held in custody alternatives for these people could include being given bail with conditions such as a curfew or a stay in a supervised hostel (Rethinking Crime and Punishment 2008).

Third, there is no need for many of the thousands of women prisoners to be held in custody. In a radical report for the Government on the future of women and the criminal justice system, Baroness Jean Corston said that: 'I have been dismayed at the high prevalence of institutional misunderstanding within the criminal justice system of the things that matter to women and at the shocking level of unmet need' (Corston 2007: 16). Corston concluded that custody was unnecessary for all but a fraction of the roughly 4,000 women in prison. This is because very few women in prison have been convicted of the kind of serious and violent offences that government guidelines say should lead to a custodial sentence – one third are in for drugs offences and very few pose any risk to the public (ibid). The Prisons Ombudsman Stephen Shaw has agreed, saying that 'the current use of imprisonment as reflected in Styal, Holloway and other women's prisons is disproportionate, ineffective and unkind' (ibid). Almost half of women prisoners have suffered domestic violence and 70 per cent suffer from mental health problems.

The Corston report concluded that 'Imprisonment of women offers no compensating benefit to society.' It described the costs of imprisoning women 'enormous', not only in financial terms (about £77,000 annually), but also in terms of family disruption, damage to children and substitute care, lost employment and subsequent mental health problems. (The report recommended that the Government should close down existing women's prisons and replace them with small, geographically dispersed, multi-functional centres, running programmes alongside community-based penalties to help tackle the causes of offending behaviour, plus some small local custodial units for the small numbers who need to be held in custody.)

Finally, there are very many people in prison who have mental health problems and who should be diverted away from the criminal justice system and towards treatment. The Bradley report recommended that there should be much greater training in mental health awareness throughout the criminal justice system so that people can be referred to mental health services well in advance of getting sucked into custody. Bradley also recommended that there should be much greater use of community orders with mental health treatment requirements and diversionary schemes so that offenders with mental health problems can be diverted to hospital.

The Centre for Social Justice has argued that many prisoners with mental health problems could serve a significant part of their sentence in supervised residential homes in the community, rather than in custody.

Prisons are poorly located

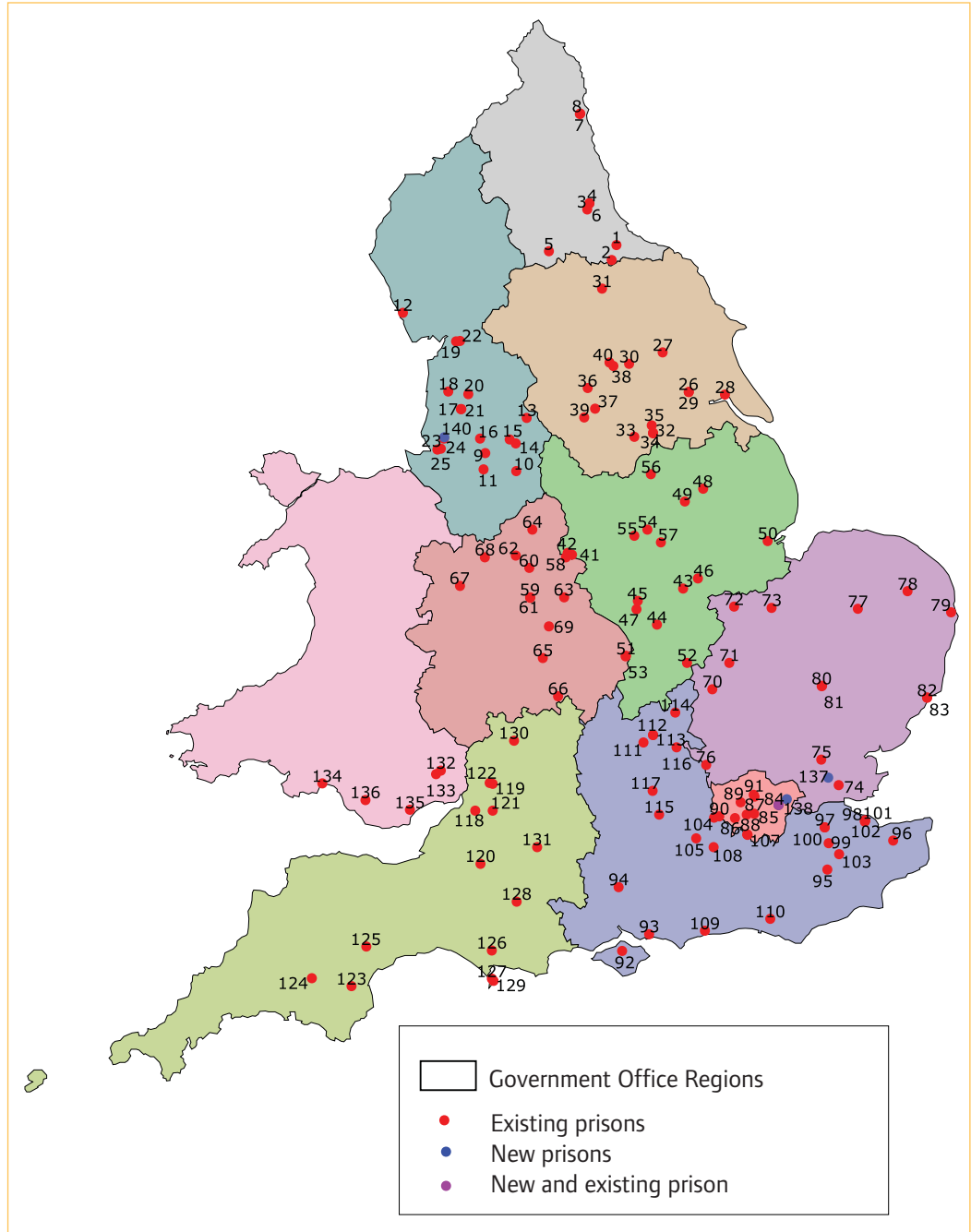
Prisons are currently inappropriately distributed across England and Wales and certain categories of prisoner in particular tend to be held very far from their home communities. This should not be entirely surprising given that the location of prisons has tended to be the result of historical accident rather than design or foresight.

Lord Carter's Review of Prisons found that a large number of prisons, such as HMP Ranby (Nottinghamshire), HMP Acklington (Northumberland) and HMP Channings Wood (Devon), are built on old Ministry of Defence sites, at significant distances from large urban centres and not close to well-developed transport links.

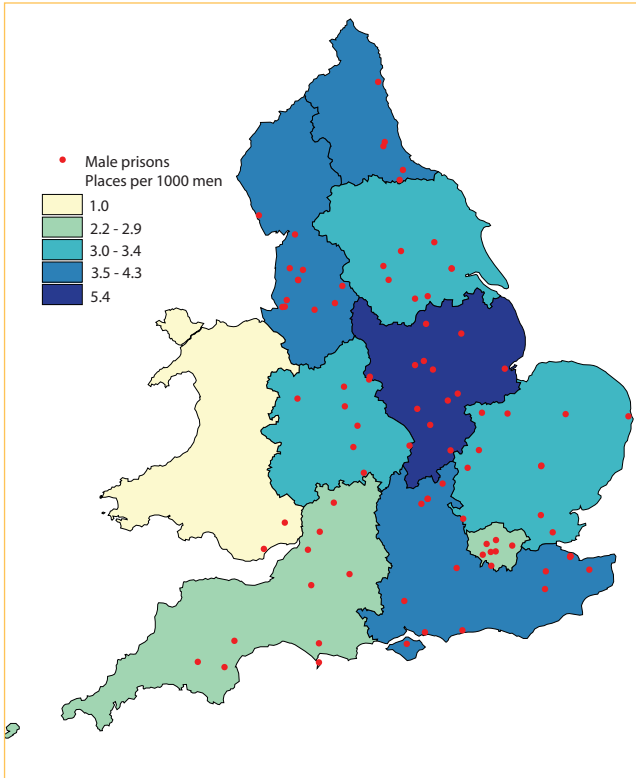
Map 4.1 shows the distribution of all the prisons that make up the estate in England and Wales. A full list is provided in Appendix C.

Map 4.1. The location of prisons in England and Wales

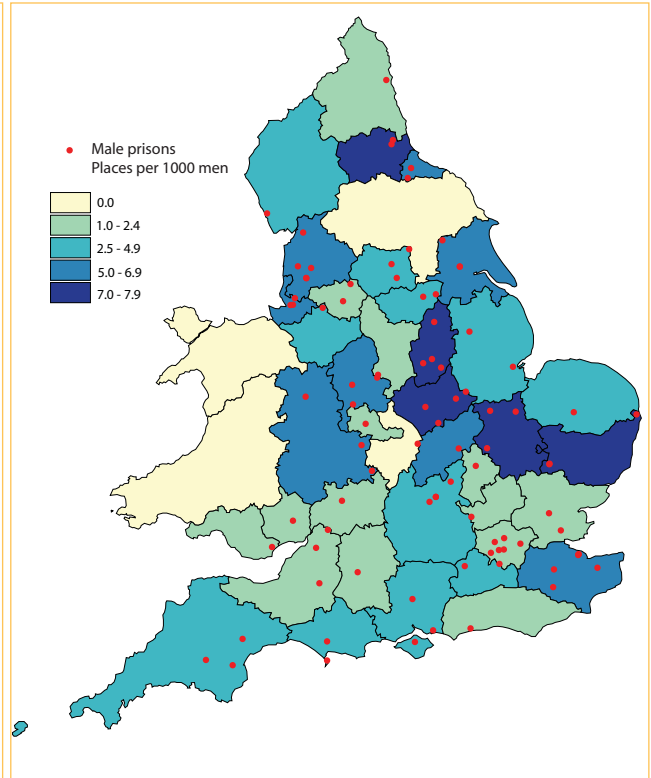
Note: For names of prisons see Appendix C



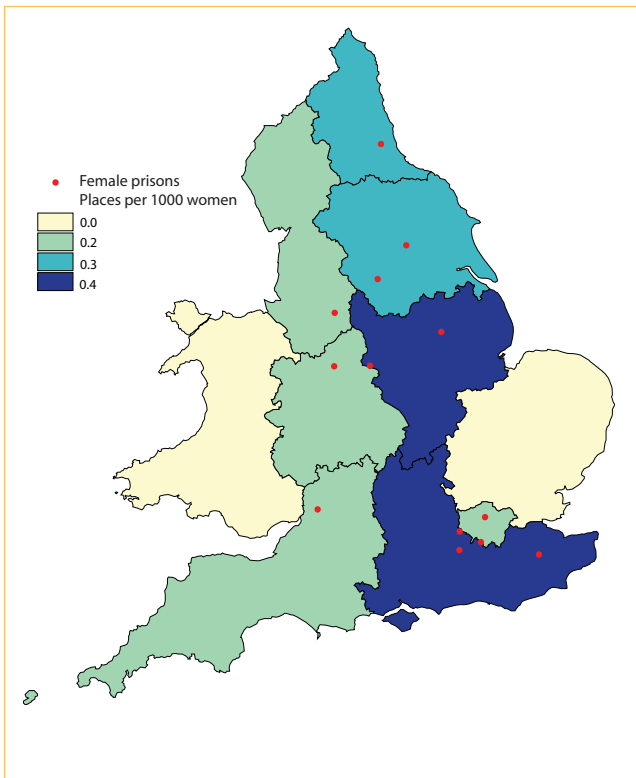
The maps that follow show that some regions of the country are better served by prisons than others.



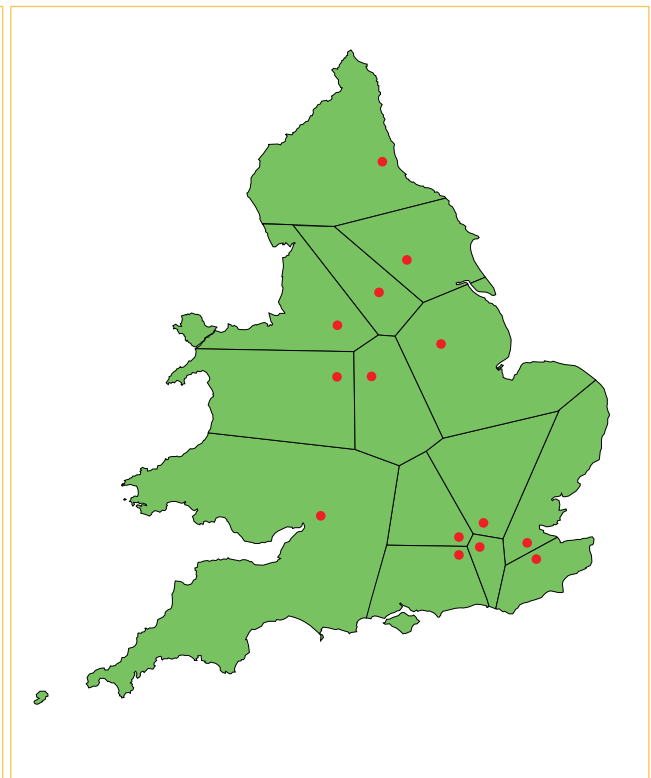
Map 4.2. Male prison places by Government Office Region, 2009



Map 4.3. Male prison places by Criminal Justice Area, 2009



Map 4.4. Female prison places by Government Office Region, 2009



Map 4.5. Closest female prison

Adult male prisons

Map 4.2 shows male prison places by Government Office Region in 2009. Each red dot represents an adult male prison. The shading indicates how many male prison places there are per 1,000 men in each region. Areas with lighter shading have the fewest places; darker shaded areas have the most.² On a regional basis (and without accounting for differential crime rates, which we do below) London, the South West and Wales look particularly poorly served.

Map 4.3 shows male prisons by smaller, Criminal Justice Areas: again the lighter colours show areas where there are fewer prison places per head of male population. The poorest served areas on this map are North Yorkshire, Warwickshire, North Wales and Dyfed Powys.

Adult female prisons

Map 4.4 shows female prison places by Government Office Region in 2009. Each red dot represents an adult female prison. As with the previous map the shading indicates how many female prison places there are per 1,000 women in each region. Areas with lighter shading – in this case Wales and the East of England – have the fewest places; darker shaded areas have the most.

We have used this data to estimate where the closest female prison is for any place in the whole of England and Wales, using Thiessen polygons (Map 4.5). (Please note that the data used to do this calculation pre-dated the recent re-classification of Cookham Wood in Kent as a male juvenile prison.) Thiessen polygons are a simple way to estimate the catchment area of each prison. Anywhere within a prison's Thiessen (catchment) polygon is closer to that prison than to any other prison, as the crow flies. So if the only consideration when choosing a prison for a person was distance from home, this map would show the closest prison for any point in England and Wales. If a polygon is large, it suggests that there are too few prisons in that area, again assuming the only consideration was proximity to home area.³ In simple terms this tells us that an adult female from South West England or South Wales will be incarcerated a longer way from home, if they go to the nearest prison, than a woman from another region.

Are prisons located where there is most demand for local prison places?

So far we have found that some regions or criminal justice areas are better served than others by prisons. But are they the right regions? To answer that question we need to consider which regions are the home of origin for most prisoners. Based on the principle that most prisoners should remain close to their community to aid reintegration, we can then see whether or not prisons are well located from a rehabilitation point of view and where we should be building prisons in the future.

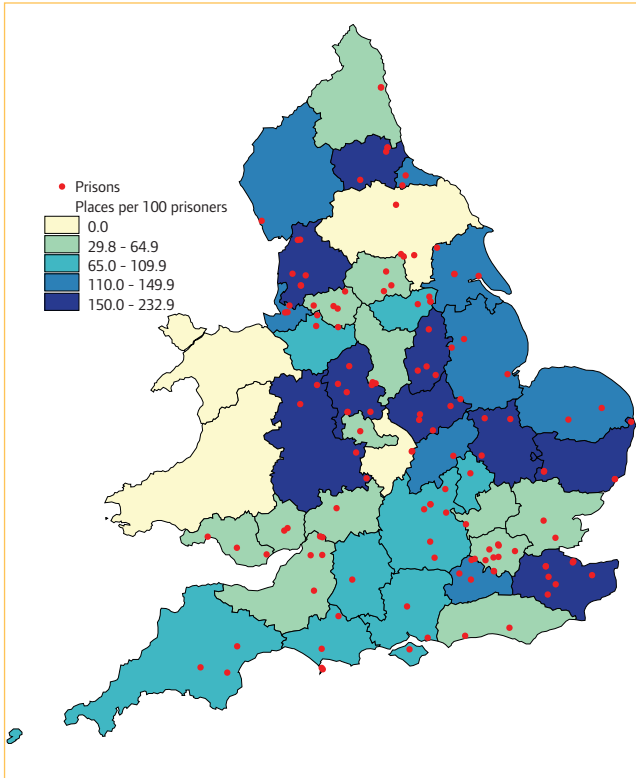
Ideally we would like to analyse how far away from their homes prisoners are incarcerated, but that would require the postcodes of all inmates. Instead we have used geographical data on total recorded crimes. In this we are assuming that the number of prisoners serving from any particular location is directly proportional to the number of recorded crimes in that location.

In Map 4.6 we have taken the total male prison population in 2009, and produced an estimate of the number who would come from each Criminal Justice Area if the number of prisoners were directly proportional to the total number of crimes. Light shaded areas indicate the places where there are the lowest numbers of prison places available for 'local' offenders.

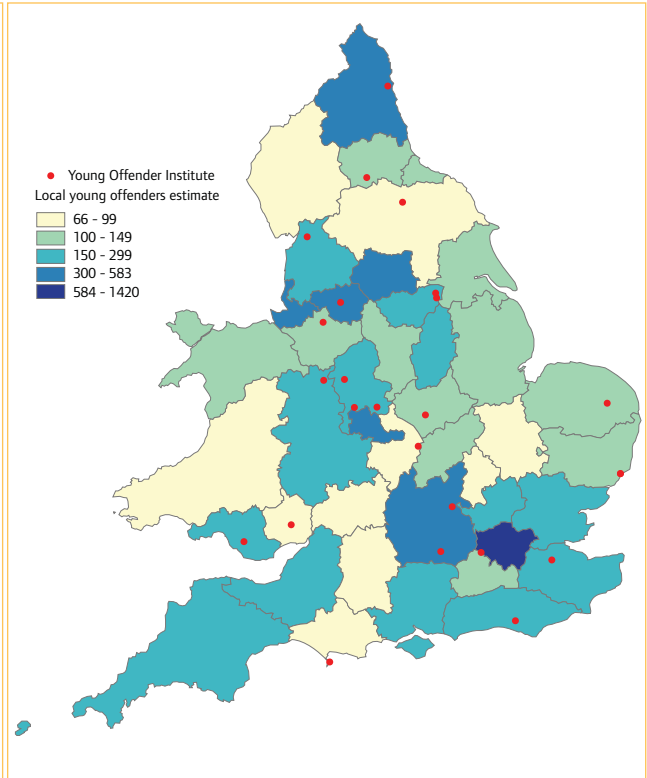
According to this map demand for local prison places outstrips supply most dramatically in Wales, Warwickshire and North Yorkshire (all shaded white). The three areas that generate

2. The data on which all the maps in this section are based can be found in Appendix D.

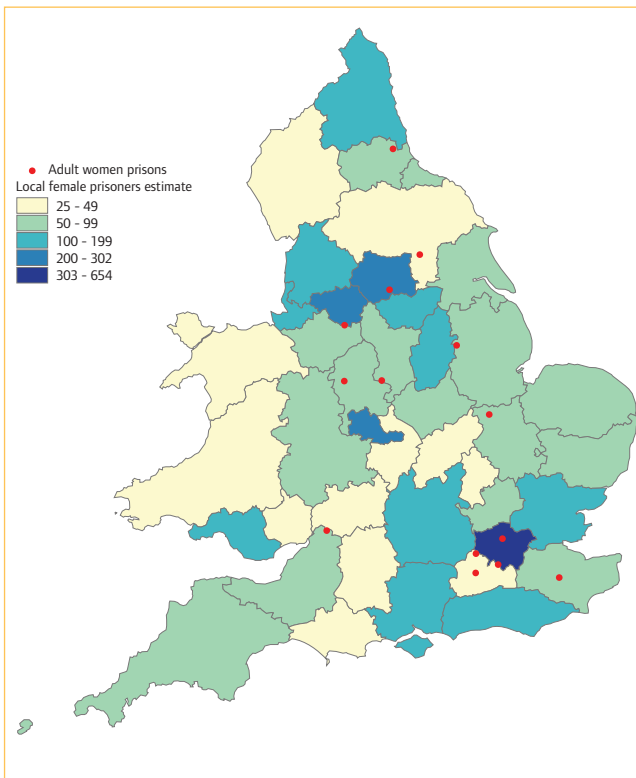
3. See BBC h2g2 guide at www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A901937 for further explanation of Thiessen polygons.



Map 4.6. Supply and demand of prison places, 2009



Map 4.7. Supply and demand of male young offender institute places, 2009



Map 4.8. Supply and demand of adult women prison places, 2009

the most amount of recorded crime – London, the West Midlands and Greater Manchester (all shaded green) – are also poorly served. The blue shaded areas come out best served from the point of view of the ration of local prisoners to prison places. These are Kent, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, West Mercia, Staffordshire, Lancashire and County Durham.

Map 4.7 shows an estimate of the number of male prisoners aged 18–20 estimated to come from each Criminal Justice Area, and also the location of Young Offenders Institutes. The estimate involved taking data on the number of convictions of 18–20 year olds in each CJA, and combining it with the total number of prisoners aged 18–20 in England and Wales. The map shows that that the regions generating the largest numbers of young male offenders are London, Greater Manchester, Thames Valley, Northumbria, Merseyside, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. Those generating the fewest numbers (shaded white on the map) are Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Gwent, Dyfed Powys, Warwickshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Cumbria and North Yorkshire.

Map 4.8 shows an estimate of the number of adult (21+) female prisoners originating from each Criminal Justice Area, and also the location of the 14 adult

female prisons. This estimate involved taking data on the number of convictions of women over 21 in each CJA, and combining it with the total number of adult female prisoners in England and Wales. The map shows that the regions estimated to generate the most adult women prisoners are London, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. Because of the very small number of women prisons, many women prisoners are inevitably held far from their home town.

The prison estate is too old

The prison estate is extremely old and much of it is in need of redevelopment. Extraordinarily there are eight prisons currently in use that are over 200 years old. Around half the estate's institutions are more than 50 years old and almost a third are over 100 years old.

As Lord Carter said in his first prisons review, 'age is not itself an indicator of quality but it is generally a predictor of higher running costs and poorer facilities...the Victorian prisons generally suffer the highest levels of overcrowding and inadequate regime provision' (Carter 2003). Indeed, much of the more recent post-war estate is of particularly poor quality, as these prisons are often converted army barracks or large country homes that are expensive to maintain and not designed for their current purpose (Lockhart *et al* 2007).

Age does, however, add significantly to maintenance costs: the 2007 Carter Review estimated a maintenance backlog of £1.127 billion. It also found that while the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) needed to spend £125 million a year on maintenance in 2006/7 it only spent £60 million, suggesting that this backlog may be growing (Carter 2007).

Because the estate is so overcrowded and there is no spare capacity in the system, NOMS has been unable so far to modernise the oldest and most inefficient parts of the estate.

Challenges: conclusion

This chapter has sketched out a picture of a prison estate facing multiple challenges: the estate is perilously overcrowded, it is not effectively rehabilitating offenders, it contains too many offenders who would be better rehabilitated in alternative settings, it is poorly located and it is old and in need of modernisation. This is our case for change. In what follows the paper sets out how a redesigned prison estate might help better deliver our penal policy objectives.

5. Alternative futures for the prison estate

This section explores how a differently designed prison estate might better aid rehabilitation. In doing so it lays the groundwork for the next phase of ippr's Tomorrow's Prisons project, which will explore in detail some alternative scenarios.

This section draws both on the prison design and penal policy literature and on ippr's interviews with leading experts in the field (see Appendix A).

What is the purpose of prison?

Despite the heated debates that regularly take place between penal reformers on the one hand, and what is often described as the 'hang 'em and flog 'em brigade' on the other, there are some basic objectives of imprisonment that command public support (Rethinking Crime and Punishment 2004).

First, prison should incapacitate criminals – remove them from the streets to prevent them from committing further crimes and thereby improve public safety.

Second, prison is intended as a punishment for those who have committed crimes, and thus to provide their victims with an appropriate measure of justice. There is a debate about how imprisonment should punish, of course. We take the view, expressed by Leon Brittan when Home Secretary, that the deprivation of a person's liberty in and of itself constitutes punishment for an offence. Others believe that the prison regime should continue to punish prisoners in various ways through tough and punitive treatment over the course of a sentence. The problem with this latter view is that it conflicts with our third objective – rehabilitation (as well as potentially breaching basic standards of decency).

Finally, then, most people think that prison should rehabilitate and see little point in sending people to prisons in which 'they come out worse than when they went in'.

The then Liberal Home Secretary Winston Churchill movingly described the proper balance between punishment and rehabilitation in a speech to the House of Commons in 1910:

We must not forget that when every material improvement has been effected in prisons, when the temperature has been rightly adjusted, when the proper food to maintain health and strength has been given, when the doctors, chaplains and prison visitors have come and gone, the convict stands deprived of everything that a free man calls life. We must not forget that all these improvements, which are sometimes salves to our consciences, do not change that position.

The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilisation of any country. A calm and dispassionate recognition of the rights of the accused against the State and even of convicted criminals against the State, a constant heart searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry all those who have paid their dues in the hard coinage of punishment, tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerating processes, and an unfaltering faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man – these are the symbols which, in the treatment of crime and criminals, mark and measure the stored-up strength of a nation, and are sign and proof of the living virtue within it.

(Winston Churchill MP, 20 July 1910, quoted in Ramsbotham 2003)

The objectives of redevelopment

Any programme of estate redevelopment therefore should be oriented to the fulfilment of these overarching goals of imprisonment: to contain, punish and rehabilitate offenders. They should also meet the basic tests of a healthy prison set out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons: safety, respect, purposeful activity and self-improvement, and maintenance of family and community links (Ramsbotham 2003).

Taking all of that into account, what should be the objectives of any programme of estate modernisation? From our interviews with experts and our review of the literature, we would highlight at least eight objectives for a progressive programme of prison modernisation. The first are:

1. Security: for reasons of public safety and in order to contain prisoners, prisons need to be secure.
2. Safety: prisons should be safe places for prisoners, staff and visitors.
3. Decency: all prisoners should be treated with respect as individuals.
4. Purposeful activity: prison should be designed as places oriented towards positive personal change.
5. Family and community links: prisons should be located and designed to support family relationships and community reintegration upon prisoners' release.
6. Focus on individual needs: prisons and other penal institutions should be better tailored to the resettlement and rehabilitation needs of individual prisoners.

In addition, any programme of modernisation must take into account two further practical considerations:

7. Feasibility: there is only a limited amount of public money available, and there are also practical considerations around where prisons can be located, especially the need to secure local planning consent. These practical considerations inevitably rub up against our other objectives, and any programme to modernise the estate will need to tackle those tensions.
8. Flexibility: we need to develop prisons that anticipate future as well as meet current needs.

We now turn to the different ways in which the design of the estate could help us meet these objectives. We focus first on the overall design of the estate before then considering individual prisons.

The overall design of the estate

The first question we need to ask is: *Do we have the right mix of penal institutions in the prison estate at the moment?*

Local and training prisons

Currently the main distinction between prison types is between local and training prisons. Her Majesty's former Chief Inspector of Prisons Lord Ramsbotham has argued that there is still a need for such a distinction, but that each category of prison needs a clearer focus. He argues that 'Local prisons lack both strategic and tactical direction. Having no clear aim, their governors do not know what they should be doing with and for their prisoners' (Ramsbotham 2003: 99-100).

Long-term sentenced prisoners should ideally not be sent to local prisons; rather, they should go straight to training prisons where there is greater capacity to support purposeful activity and greater access to supportive programmes. If this were done, local prisons would:

- Receive prisoners immediately upon arrest and hold them until trial and conviction (remand prisoners)

- Hold prisoners with short sentences
- Receive long-term prisoners from the local area for the last few months of their sentence so that they can be appropriately resettled.

Training prisons, which make up the majority of our prisons, should focus on the rehabilitation of those with longer sentences. We explore some potential designs for new training prisons below.

Degree of specialisation

Should we build a large number of small prisons that specialise in rehabilitating certain types of offender? Or do we build large, multi-functional prisons that deal with different groups under one roof, or at least within one perimeter? We turn to the issues of size below – but first we address the question of how specialised prisons should be.

There was very strong resistance among our interviewees to the idea of large prisons that seek to cater for a very diverse range of prisoner types. One interviewee said that if varieties of security levels are mixed on one site, 'high security pollutes the rest', simply because the whole prison has to be run to a much higher level of security than is necessary for many of the prisoners. Another argued that where populations and functions are mixed, the hardest cases receive all the attention, 'so where you have men and women on the same site, all the attention gets focused on the men'.

One way of achieving economies of scale without building large, multi-functional prisons would be through 'clustering'. This is where a range of institutions, each with their own particular degree of security and focus, operate on different neighbouring sites, under a common leadership and management umbrella.

Intermediary institutions

There are some categories of offender who would be better rehabilitated in intermediary institutions, rather than in prisons.

Box 1. Community Supervised Homes for Offenders (CSHOs)

Jonathan Aitken's review of prisons policy for the Centre for Social Justice (2009) recommended that instead of the construction of four large Titan prisons, as the Government was proposing, a number of smaller, community-based prisons should be built alongside a network of halfway houses known as Community Supervised Homes for Offenders (CSHOs).

With different levels of security and supervision these homes would accommodate recently released prisoners and in carefully selected cases prisoners who were nearing the end of their sentence. In the latter case priority would be given to women, elderly and disabled prisoners, prisoners suffering from less severe mental health disorders and ex-servicemen.

These homes might have as few as two or as many as 12 residents. They would be supervised by well-trained managers under the direction of the probation service. It would cost much less to house an offender in a CSHO than in prison.

The homes would focus on providing the kind of rehabilitative programmes that are known to lower the risk of reoffending.

Source: Centre for Social Justice 2009: 101-103

First, there could be supervised homes to house carefully selected prisoners, who pose no risk to public safety, towards the end of their sentence, to aid their reintegration into the community, as outlined in Box 1.

Second, community-based centres, some of them residential, might also provide an alternative to custody, to which someone could be referred as part of a community order. For examples of success in dealing with young offenders see Boxes 2 and 3.

The Corston report into women and the criminal justice system proposed that existing women's prisons should close. Baroness Corston concluded that only a fraction of those women currently in custody actually meet the guidelines that say that prison should be reserved for serious and violent offenders. She made the case instead for community-based sentences that take into account women's particular needs, in particular around childcare and family life. The Ministry of Justice is currently investing in developing alternatives to custody for some female offenders.

Box 2. Centre for Adolescent Rehabilitation (C-FAR)

Prior to its closure due to funding cuts, the C-FAR life change programme was targeted at persistent offenders and serial substance abusers, all aged under 25. The programme comprised three parts: contact in prisons and the community with motivational interviews and support; an initial 11-week residential course followed by a 40-week aftercare programme.

C-FAR staff comprised a multidisciplinary team who were called on to deal with a wide range of matters relating to the trainees' rehabilitation. This spanned such diverse topics as parenting, health and safety, remedial education, physical fitness, information technology, teamwork, leadership, counselling, victim awareness, drug effects, and management of personal finances. In addition to these training functions C-FAR tried to obtain housing for trainees and to find them employment or place them on training courses.

Once trainees graduated from the residential phase of the programme, C-FAR provided continuing support for a minimum of 40 weeks thereafter.

The project was set up by the former marine Trevor Philpott who told ippr that the project had managed to reduce re-offending rates to 40 per cent, 20 percentage points lower than re-offending rates from prison. The positive impact of the project on young trainees was demonstrated by an independent academic study (Wilson and Killingley 2004). Philpott believes that these kinds of supervised residential programmes should be used in place of custody for very many young offenders and would be much more successful at rehabilitation.

Box 3. Urad Prevezgojni dom Radece, Slovenia

Urad Prevezgojni dom Radece is a correctional home that is used as an alternative to juvenile prison. It partly focuses on diverting people before they enter criminal justice system. It shares facilities with the local community – for example, local organisations use the home's swimming pool. It was built with a secure core building at the centre, and outside of the secure estate there is another property used by those offenders who are approaching the end of their sentences. They are expected to take more responsibility and so have their own kitchen and living area. They undertake work experience and interviews in the community to look for jobs. People are referred by the courts or by social services.

Re-offending rates are only 20 per cent and over the last eight years the institution has had no negative incidents.

Source: Philpott 2005

Where should prisons be located?

We know from the previous chapter that prisoners should be kept as close to the communities they come from as possible, in order to:

- Maintain family links, which we know are crucial for rehabilitation
- Aid resettlement back into the community, such as by preparing the way for finding a job or accommodation
- Facilitate the continuity of treatment programmes for prisoners with drug, alcohol or other medical problems.

For these reasons, and on the basis of our findings in the last chapter, new prisons should be located:

- In and around the urban areas where most offenders come from
- In areas with good transport links
- In and around Greater London, the West Midlands and Greater Manchester, which together generate the majority of recorded crime in England and Wales (Walker *et al* 2009, Carter 2007).

The Conservative Party recently proposed that to fund prison estate modernisation, a selection of old prisons sitting on prime real estate could be sold to pay for new prisons elsewhere (Lockhart *et al* 2007). This proposal was dropped following the collapse of the property market (The Guardian, 7 January 2010).

This proposal highlights a problem for prison redevelopment: the sites that are ideally suitable from the perspective of resettlement might also have very high land costs. It is much cheaper to build outside towns. One of our interviewees expressed strong reservations about the development of what they called 'out of town penal estates'. However, so long as

prisons are built near to the big cities and are easily accessible by public transport, it should be possible to maintain community links.

Design of individual prisons

Leslie Fairweather notes that there have been only two major developments in prison design in England in the last 160 years (Fairweather 2000). The first was the development in the 19th century of a radial prison design, made up of a number of galleried cellblocks radiating out from a central point – the classic hub-and-spoke model. This design was pioneered by architects like John Haviland in the United States (for example, the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia) and Sir Joshua Jebb in England (for example, HMP Pentonville in London). The design had the advantage of allowing clear sight lines along the corridors to ensure safety and allowed a small number of staff to control the prison efficiently from a central hub (Johnson 1973).

The second significant development was of the Prison Design Briefing System (PDBS), drawn up by the Home Office in the 1980s to guide architects on how to meet the needs of the prison service. The PDBS set out in detail the standards and specifications for new prisons. The PDBS was based on the needs of a Category B training prison for 600 adult male prisoners and identified 27 different prison functions ('PFs'), including site planning and construction, housing, segregated units, administrative buildings, visitors' centres and perimeter security. For each of these it set out detailed technical specifications.

Fairweather points out that the PDBS was not adopted wholesale and that private prisons could depart from its specifications. He argues that prison design is split between those behind the general approach set out in the PDBS, the prison service itself, and the architect and consortia who win the contract. He claims this means that there 'is no one in Jebb's solo role as prison supremo, given responsibility to force design reforms through or to set and insist on high standards of design quality' (Fairweather 2000).

The PDBS has now been superseded by updated guidance from the National Offender Management Service, which covers much of the same ground and sets out the technical and security specifications for the different types of buildings within a prison. Interviewees emphasised to us that following the Woolfe, Larmont and Woodcock reports the general focus of guidance has been towards improving safety and security, rather than thinking creatively about rehabilitation. Given that security measures take up considerable resource, there is therefore less resource for radical innovations that might save money in the future by reducing recidivism.

How large should prisons be?

The Government's proposal to build four 2,000-capacity Titan prisons met with fierce resistance from many stakeholders including the Prison Reform Trust, the wider criminal justice charities, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, the Prison Governors Association, the Prison Officers Association, the opposition parties, and many Labour MPs.

Very large prisons are associated with a number of significant problems:

- They tend to be located far away from local communities in a way that undermines family contact and resettlement.
- They are more likely to be unsafe (Centre for Social Justice 2009).
- Because staff spend so little time with each prisoner, they are more likely to rely on coercion than on healthy prisoner/officer relationships to maintain order (HMCIP 2009, Centre for Social Justice 2009).
- Larger prisons find it harder to cater for prisoners' needs. The Prison Reform Trust found that smaller prisons scored better across the whole range of outcomes, including for example safety and resettlement. One of our expert interviewees said that ideally to make sure individuals' needs are met, 'the governor should know every prisoner's name – that makes a very big difference'.

These considerations obviously have to be balanced against a number of practical issues:

- It is likely to be difficult to get planning permission for a large number of small prisons.
- If prisons are too small and specialist they may not be sufficiently flexible to accommodate changing needs.
- There are potentially administration costs in having a large number of small prisons.

So, how big should prisons be? Our expert interviewees indicated that there is no magic number of prisoners but their answers tended to fall within a range of 350 to 700 inmates. The clear consensus in terms of prison design is that smaller is better.

Scandinavia is often hailed as a model for its small, more rehabilitative prisons. The smallest prison in Norway houses 12 prisoners, the largest 400 (Dobson 2008). In Scandinavia generally there is a large number of small prisons, often with under 100 inmates. The biggest prisons have around 350 inmates (Pratt 2008). (See Box 7, p33.)

Purposeful activity

One major disadvantage of the radial prison model, and of most of the other standard prison designs, is that it separates the cellblocks from any purposeful activity. Prisoners are kept in large galleried residential halls, and at allotted times are transported elsewhere to carry out their education, work, drug treatment and so forth. This results in much labour-intensive movement of prisoners from one part of the prison to another. It cuts off trained prison officer staff from purposeful activity, generally carried out by outside staff with less training in how to deal with prisoners.

More significantly it means that most of the day is not spent on purposeful activity, but with prisoners sitting around doing nothing – simply being held or warehoused, either

Box 5. The Mitson Academy Model

This model has been developed by former prison governor Stuart Mitson and was endorsed by Jonathan Aitken's Prison Reform Taskforce (Centre for Social Justice 2009).

The central innovation in this design is that the living accommodation is integrated with one of the prison's service buildings to form an 'academy'.

A prison would be split into between six and 12 residential academies, such as a catering academy, a sports academy and a college unit. Prisoners would be placed according to their interests and would live and work in the same block.

For example, in the college unit, prisoners would have study cells aligned around an education block, with classrooms and a library.

This has a number of advantages:

- It creates an exciting and stimulating learning environment
- Prisoners are potentially engaged in purposeful activity throughout the day, rather than during a tiny fraction of it
- Staff time on moving prisoners around would be reduced
- Discipline staff are engaged with prisoners' constructive activities and service staff are not isolated
- Combining two buildings into one saves on construction costs and energy consumption.

Source: Centre for Social Justice 2009

locked in their cells or mingling during their free association time. It is during this free time in the cellblocks that most of the bullying, drug dealing and violence takes place in prison.

Two impressive proposals for integrating residential accommodation and purposeful activity are contained in Boxes 5 (above) and 6 (below).

Box 6. Learning works: the 21st century prison

Designer Hilary Cottam has created an award-winning proposal for a prison oriented around education and learning.

This prison would be based on live-work cells arranged around communal areas where purposeful activity would take place. This again integrates residential accommodation with constructive activity.

The live-work cells would encourage personal responsibility and reduce institutionalisation, simply because prisoners would be encouraged to work throughout the day and motivate themselves and their peers. Each cell would be electronically networked, behind a firewall, to facilitate learning.

This radical design would be accompanied by a learning regime that would aim to achieve at least 40 hours a week of educational activity.

Source: Cottam 2002

Association versus separation

Haviland's Eastern State Penitentiary and Jebb's Pentonville were early examples of another aspect of prison design, known as 'the separate system'. Prisons or, more appropriately, 'penitentiaries' were intended to extract penance from the prisoner, who would be kept in solitary isolation from their fellow prisoners. Under the influence of the Pennsylvania Quakers, prisoners in Philadelphia were kept in austere individual cells, leaving them alone to reflect and face God's judgement. This system of solitary confinement was also intended to prevent young prisoners from being 'polluted' by unscrupulous old timers and protect them from the corrupting influence of wider prison culture. No association at all with other prisoners would ensure order by preventing escape plots and attacks on guards (Johnson 1973).

This philosophy of separation is alive and well today in American Supermax prisons. These have been built in last 20 years in response to problems with gangs and drugs inside prisons. In these jails 'prisoners are locked down in conditions of separate confinement in an environment virtually devoid of stimulation. When they leave their cells it is only when handcuffed, leg-ironed, belly chained...' (King 2007: 118).

We should note that a system of individual cells is not a universal one: many countries, including Brazil and Russia, have dormitory systems whereby groups of prisoners share large bedrooms. In Brazil the prisons are actually regulated by prisoner gangs themselves, known as faxinas, and staff simply patrol the exterior of the prison, leaving the inmates to organise the prison themselves (King 2007).

Modern commentators tend to agree that solitary confinement has a negative impact on the mental health and emotional well-being of the prisoner. For example, Baroness Corston wrote in her report on women and the criminal justice system:

Women are often distressed and sometimes frightened of spending long hours locked alone into single cells. A mother of a young woman who took her own life in prison told me very movingly of what she

believed had contributed to her daughter's tragic action. She considered that the extended, uninterrupted, involuntary single occupation within a confined space with no vista coupled with deprivation of human contact for many hours at a time would have escalated her daughter's anxieties, feelings of helplessness, hopelessness and despair to intolerable levels. This is the reality of the 'custody' that we impose on women. (Corston 2007)

What 18th century Quakers thought would save someone's soul, we now know is very often likely to make them mentally unwell. Positive relationships – with prison guards, other prisoners, one's family, an inspirational teacher – these are the factors that we know can help to rehabilitate prisoners. So, association time is very important – and it would be most positive for rehabilitation if it were structured much more than it is now around purposeful activity like learning or employment.

Community links

Prisons also vary in their degree of interface with the community around them. Yvonne Jewkes argues that in the 20th century people tended to look upon prisons with distaste and as a result they were increasingly being built far away from residential communities (Jewkes and Johnston 2007). With their high walls and heavy security most prisons in England and Wales have relatively little interaction with their surrounding communities. This is in marked contrast to prisons in Scandinavia and Slovenia; see Boxes 7 and 8.

Safety and security

Some claim there is a trade-off between security and other goals of the prison regime, especially human rights and rehabilitation. King (2007) argues, 'it is very difficult indeed to run prisons that are virtually escape proof, orderly and safe, which provide programmes aimed at changing offending behaviour and offering prospects for rehabilitation and which respect the human rights of staff and prisoners' (p.329). This is because some of the things

Box 7. Characteristics of Scandinavian prisons

Prisons in Scandinavia are small and local and therefore allow prisoners to be near to their families. This also makes prison more visible and normal to the wider population. Core services such as health and education are not run by the prison, but by mainstream/community providers. They therefore reflect the ethos of the health and education department, not that of the prison service.

20–30 per cent of the prison population are in open prisons. These prisons serve as an inducement for good behaviour. A prisoner is immediately sent back to closed prison if he or she breaks the rules in an open prison (each year 15–20 per cent of referrals to open prison are recalled to closed institutions for breaking the rules).

Even high security prisons have family accommodation so partners and children can stay for the weekend. This is an important mechanism in maintaining relationships and reducing tension and in reducing bullying/sexual assault. The visiting system in England and Wales with its strict 'no touch' rules is in marked contrast.

Open prisons are very open: prisoners can earn wages through work (which have to be used to pay rent, pay victims, support family and for savings for release); barriers are reduced to a minimum; prisoners can walk into local communities in their free time (Pratt 2008).

Box 8. Koper Community Prison, Slovenia

Koper community prison holds just 130 prisoners and employs 68 staff. It is built next to a major shopping centre, where many of the prisoners work. 47 of the prisoners live in semi-open conditions, undertaking work in the community each day. The prison governor knows each prisoner by name and holds regular meetings with them. Being close to the community enables regular family visits and relationships are generally maintained.

Koper prison has a re-offending rate of just 40 per cent.

Source: Centre for Social Justice 2009:100

that are required from the point of view of rehabilitation (physical contact with family, work in the community) might also under certain circumstances pose a threat to order within the prison or to external security.

There are two very different approaches to maintaining order in prisons. One, as with the Supermax facilities in the United States, is the 'situational approach' – to rely on surveillance and technology to monitor prisoners and to reduce the opportunities for disorder through extreme lockdown (King 2007).

By contrast many prisons have remained riot-free by establishing a prison regime that has legitimacy such that prisoners willingly cooperate with it. This is done through good relationships between the prison leadership, staff and prisoners and has been called the 'social' approach to internal order in prisons. It is an approach much more likely to be compatible with rehabilitation (King 2007).

Order maintenance measures may have a mutually reinforcing relationship with other goals such as rehabilitation – this is the point of the social rather than situational approach. The virtuous circle involves developing relationships that are positive and that thereby avoid unrest in the prison. The vicious circle here is that if officers feel unsafe they are more likely to revert to situational measures/have inmates locked down for long periods. This can easily become self-sustaining.

Alternative futures for the prison estate: conclusions

This chapter has set out a range of ways in which a differently designed prison estate could help better meet penal policy goals. For the estate as a whole:

- A richer ecology of penal institutions could help better deliver rehabilitation, with greater clarity around the role of local and training prisons, greater specialisation within the estate and greater use of intermediary institutions where appropriate.
- Prisons should be built close to the communities where offenders come from, meaning that new prisons should be located near to large urban areas.

As far as individual prisons are concerned:

- There are significant advantages to building smaller prisons.
- Prisons should be designed so that purposeful activity is at their heart.
- Prisons should encourage associative activity among prisoners, through shared purposeful activity.
- There are resettlement benefits in re-thinking the relationship between prisons and the communities around them.
- Social relationships and legitimacy should be the key to maintaining order within prisons, rather than an excessive reliance on technology and coercion.

Conclusion

There are a number of alternative futures for the prison estate, but most options tend to coalesce around two different scenarios.

Continuing along the current path

The first involves muddling on as we have been doing: expanding the prison estate, building ever larger prisons that in the long term cost us more because re-offending rates continue at current levels. There are a number of forces currently driving us in this direction – but none is insuperable.

1. *Political fatalism*. This manifests itself in the belief that this issue is too hot to touch. There are no votes to be gained from penal reform: it is too high risk politically and there is no plausible path out of the political logjam, where any party that embraces reform risks being branded 'soft on crime'. Nevertheless, public opinion on crime and punishment is more complicated than it is often portrayed: the public do think prison plays an important role in punishing offenders, but they also think there is little point in sending people into prisons if they 'come out worse than when they went in'. The 2010 general election represents an opportunity for a fresh start on prison reform, whichever party wins.
2. *Financial fatalism*. This is the view that we are about to enter an age of austerity, and that there will be no money for the redevelopment of the penal estate. The reality is, however, that we are already committed to around £2 billion of new spending on prison modernisation in the next spending cycle. The debate should be over whether or not it is right to spend this money doing exactly what we have been doing for decades or to try a different approach. Those propounding this form of financial fatalism also need to account for the high cost involved in carrying on as we are, with over-reliance on expensive custodial sentences and re-offending rates of 55 per cent within two years of release from prison. Reform and redevelopment will save money down the line.
3. *Institutional fatalism*. The Prison Service has been in permanent crisis mode for years, having to deal with the problems caused by over-crowding and unable, therefore, to lift its sights and think of alternatives to its current course. There is a need for strong political leadership to help the tanker change its usual course.

Doing things differently

The outlines of an alternative scenario were sketched in the previous chapter. It would have the following characteristics:

- Spending the money currently set aside for building five large prisons on a larger number of smaller prisons
- Developing a set of new prisons that are innovatively designed to enhance rehabilitation, such as making purposeful activity the core component of prison life and culture. Let's not simply build the same types of prison we have been building
- Developing a richer ecology of penal institutions, including greater use of intermediary institutions where appropriate
- Reforming the criminal justice system to eventually help reduce over-crowding and release spare capacity into the system. Over time, this would allow us to modernise the oldest and most costly parts of the estate.

Tomorrow's Prisons: next steps

The next phase of the Tomorrow's Prisons project will build on this paper by testing some of the ideas set out above. We propose to work with the public and stakeholders to consider

the alternative scenarios. This will involve researching public attitudes and assessing whether a public consensus can be developed around doing things differently. It would examine the cost and planning implications of different proposals. It will include deliberative work and other methods of bringing people together in a problem-solving fashion.

By applying the ideas identified in this paper to real cases of prison design and construction, the next phase of the project will make a significant contribution to the debate on the future of our prison estate. It aims to produce ambitious, progressive – but also feasible – options for change, and to inform and ignite a much-needed public debate about the kind of prisons we want in the century to come.

Appendix A. List of interviewees

Diane Curry, chief executive, Partners of Prisoners

Erwin James, writer on prisons and penal reform

Yvonne Jewkes, professor of criminology, Leicester University

Andy Keen-Downs, director, Prison Advice and Care Trust

Nicola Lowitt, Ministry of Justice

Peter Mellor, architect, Capita Symonds

Stuart Mitson, independent prison consultant, former prison governor

Andrew Neilson, assistant director in charge of policy at the Howard League for Penal Reform

Anne Owers, HM Inspector of Prisons

Trevor Philpott, head of Life Change UK and Freedom (two charities focusing on education in prisons/ex-offenders)

John Podmore, NOMS; former governor, HMP Brixton and former prisons inspector

Peter Selby, president of the Independent Monitoring Board, visiting professor of criminology, King's College London, and formerly a Church of England Bishop to prisons

Stephen Shaw, Prison Ombudsman

Appendix B. Prison capacity and overcrowding in England and Wales

The table below shows the data used to plot the chart in Figure 4.1. It includes a column showing the gap between what the Prison Service aspires to in terms of prison capacity and what it has been providing in recent years.

Prison capacity and population in England and Wales, 1994–2015				
Year	No. of prisoners	'Uncrowded' capacity (CNA)	Operational capacity	Gap between 'uncrowded' capacity and no. of prisoners
1994	48,929	48,291	n/a	-638
1995	51,086	50,239	n/a	-847
1996	55,256	53,152	n/a	-2,104
1997	61,467	56,329	61,900	-5,138
1998	65,727	61,253	67,800	-4,474
1999	64,529	62,369	69,800	-2,160
2000	65,194	63,346	71,230	-1,848
2001	66,403	63,530	71,270	-2,873
2002	71,112	64,046	74,775	-7,066
2003	73,627	66,104	76,070	-7,523
2004	74,468	67,505	75,901	-6,963
2005	76,079	69,394	77,333	-6,685
2006	77,962	70,085	79,478	-7,877
2007	81,040	71,465	81,058	-9,575
2008	83,667	73,452	83,180	-10,215
2009	83,454	74,849	85,727	-8,605
2010	84,900	n/a	86,207	n/a
2011	86,900	n/a	87,707	n/a
2012	87,700	n/a	87,707	n/a
2013	87,600	n/a	90,707	n/a
2014	88,000	n/a	96,000	n/a
2015	88,700	n/a	n/a	n/a

Appendix C. List of all prisons in England and Wales

The table shows the full list of prisons. The numbers correspond with those in Map 4.1.

Code	Prison
1	Holme House
2	Kirklevington Grange
3	Durham
4	Frankland
5	Deerbolt
6	Low Newton
7	Acklington
8	Castington
9	Risley
10	Styal
11	Thorn Cross
12	Haverigg
13	Buckley Hall
14	Manchester
15	Forest Bank
16	Hindley
17	Garth
18	Kirkham
19	Lancaster Castle
20	Preston
21	Wymott
22	Lancaster Farms
23	Altcourse
24	Kennet
25	Liverpool
26	Everthorpe
27	Full Sutton
28	Hull
29	Wolds
30	Askham Grange
31	Northallerton
32	Lindholme
33	Doncaster
34	Moorland Closed
35	Moorland Open
36	Leeds
37	Wakefield
38	Wealstun
39	New Hall
40	Wetherby
41	Foston Hall

Code	Prison
42	Sudbury
43	Ashwell
44	Gartree
45	Leicester
46	Stocken
47	Glen Parva
48	Lincoln
49	Morton Hall
50	North Sea Camp
51	Rye Hill
52	Wellingborough
53	Onley
54	Lowdham Grange
55	Nottingham
56	Ranby
57	Whatton
58	Dovegate
59	Featherstone
60	Stafford
61	Brinsford
62	Drake Hall
63	Swinfen Hall
64	Werrington
65	Hewell
66	Long Lartin
67	Shrewsbury
68	Stoke Heath
69	Birmingham
70	Bedford
71	Littlehey
72	Peterborough
73	Whitmoor
74	Bullwood Hall
75	Chelmsford
76	The Mount
77	Wayland
78	Norwich
79	Blundeston
80	Edmunds Hill
81	Highpoint
82	Hollesley Bay

Code	Prison
83	Warren Hill
84	Belmarsh and Belmarsh West
85	Brixton
86	Latchmere House
87	Pentonville
88	Wandsworth
89	Wormwood Scrubs
90	Feltham
91	Holloway
92	Isle of Wight
93	Kingston
94	Winchester
95	Blantyre House
96	Canterbury
97	Cookham Wood
98	Elmley
99	Maidstone
100	Rochester
101	Standford Hill
102	Swaleside
103	East Sutton Park
104	Bronzefield
105	Coldingley
106	Downview
107	High Down
108	Send
109	Ford
110	Lewes
111	Bullingdon
112	Grendon
113	Spring Hill
114	Woodhill
115	Reading
116	Aylesbury
117	Huntercombe
118	Bristol
119	Leyhill
120	Shepton Mallet
121	Ashfield
122	Eastwood Park
123	Channings Wood
124	Dartmoor
125	Exeter
126	Dorchester
127	The Verne

Code	Prison
128	Guys Marsh
129	Portland
130	Gloucester
131	Erlestoke
132	Usk
133	Prescoed
134	Swansea
135	Cardiff
136	Parc

Appendix D. Data used to create the maps shown in this paper

Map 4.2. Male prison places by Government Office Region, 2009

The places per 1000 of population are sorted an ascending order.

Government Office Region	Male population aged 21+, 2007	No. of male adult prisons	No. of male adult prison places	Male adult places per 1000 male adults
Wales	1,062,940	2	1034	1
London	2,759,440	6	6009	2.2
South West	1,889,260	10	4874	2.6
West Midlands	1,921,060	7	5922	3.1
Yorkshire and The Humber	1,862,680	8	6109	3.3
East of England	2,041,920	11	7039	3.4
South East	2,978,760	16	10,546	3.5
North West	2,449,420	12	9798	4
North East	924,140	5	3954	4.3
East Midlands	1,597,360	13	8605	5.4

Map 4.3. Male prison places by Criminal Justice Area, 2009

The data in the table below (cont. p42) is sorted in ascending order of prison places per 1,000 male population. It shows that the number of places per 1,000 adult males varies from 0 to 7.9.

Criminal Justice Area	Male population aged 21+, 2007	No. of male adult prisons	No. of male adult prison places	Male adult places per 1000 male adults
North Yorkshire	2,897,00	0	0	0
Warwickshire	193,460	0	0	0
Dyfed Powys	183,560	0	0	0
North Wales	245,060	0	0	0
Sussex	553,200	1	557	1
Gwent	196,480	1	250	1.3
Essex	602,980	2	923	1.5
Gloucestershire	210,620	1	323	1.5
Derbyshire	362,980	1	581	1.6
West Midlands	907,420	1	1450	1.6
Greater Manchester	914,660	2	1650	1.8
South Wales	437,840	1	784	1.8
Hertfordshire	377,960	1	720	1.9
Northumbria	507,400	1	946	1.9
Wiltshire	232,440	1	470	2
Metropolitan	2,759,440	6	6009	2.2
Avon & Somerset	578,140	3	1324	2.3
Bedfordshire	213,340	1	506	2.4
Cheshire	361,300	1	1085	3
West Yorkshire	771,580	3	2282	3

Criminal Justice Area	Male population aged 21+, 2007	No. of male adult prisons	No. of male adult prison places	Male adult places per 1000 male adults
Devon & Cornwall	609,860	3	1910	3.1
Thames Valley	782,820	4	2502	3.2
Dorset	258,200	2	847	3.3
Norfolk	312,420	1	1017	3.3
Cumbria	183,880	1	644	3.5
Hampshire	669,340	3	2444	3.7
Lincolnshire	254,100	2	1044	4.1
Surrey	392,600	2	1616	4.1
South Yorkshire	470,120	2	2135	4.5
Humberside	331,280	3	1692	5.1
West Mercia	432,320	3	2244	5.2
Northamptonshire	243,480	2	1306	5.4
Staffordshire	387,860	3	2228	5.7
Kent	580,800	6	3427	5.9
Merseyside	471,020	3	2850	6.1
Cleveland	197,340	2	1277	6.5
Lancashire	518,560	5	3569	6.9
Suffolk	258,980	3	1849	7.1
Cambridgeshire	276,240	3	2024	7.3
Leicestershire	349,040	4	2622	7.5
Durham	219,400	2	1731	7.9
Nottinghamshire	387,760	4	3052	7.9

Map 4.4. Female prison places by Government Office Region, 2009

Government Office Region	Female population aged 21+, 2007	No. of female adult prisons	No. of female adult prison places	Female adult places per 1000 female adults
Wales	1,156,040	0	0	0
East of England	2,181,520	0	0	0
South West	2,030,800	1	362	0.2
West Midlands	2,040,900	1	315	0.2
North West	2,627,620	1	459	0.2
London	2,878,580	1	501	0.2
North East	998,700	1	336	0.3
Yorkshire and The Humber	1,973,640	2	574	0.3
East Midlands	1,683,840	2	682	0.4
South East	3,207,060	4	1205	0.4

Map 4.6. Prison places per 1000 estimated local prisoners, 2009

The data below is sorted in ascending order of estimated prisoners coming from each area.

Criminal Justice Area (CJA)	No. of male adult prison places	Total recorded crimes 2008/9	Recorded offences per 1000 pop'n 2008/9	Estimate no. male prisoners coming from this CJA, 2009
Dyfed Powys	0	24,114	48	411
Cumbria	644	30,961	62	528
Warwickshire	0	37,468	71	639
Wiltshire	470	41,468	65	708
Gloucestershire	323	44,136	76	753
Durham	1731	45,074	75	769
Bedfordshire	506	45,578	77	778
North Wales	0	46,134	68	787
Suffolk	1849	46,504	66	794
Norfolk	1017	49,171	58	839
Gwent	250	49,171	88	839
Lincolnshire	1044	49,547	72	845
North Yorkshire	0	50,460	64	861
Dorset	847	50,648	72	864
Cleveland	1277	55,094	98	940
Northamptonshire	1306	59,904	88	1022
Cambridgeshire	2024	64,790	85	1106
Surrey	1616	65,132	59	1111
Derbyshire	581	73,660	74	1257
Cheshire	1085	75,098	75	1281
Hertfordshire	720	76,152	71	1299
West Mercia	2244	77,443	65	1321
Staffordshire	2228	85,237	80	1454
Leicestershire	2622	86,322	89	1473
Humberside	1692	89,767	99	1532
Devon & Cornwall	1910	102,737	62	1753
Northumbria	946	105,234	75	1796
Sussex	557	107,591	70	1836
Essex	923	112,841	67	1925
Nottinghamshire	3052	115,182	109	1965
South Wales	784	117,196	95	2000
Lancashire	3569	117,575	81	2006
Merseyside	2850	117,818	87	2010
Kent	3427	121,049	73	2066
South Yorkshire	2135	130,172	100	2221
Avon & Somerset	1324	138,083	87	2356
Hampshire	2444	159,403	86	2720
Thames Valley	2502	195,530	90	3336
West Yorkshire	2282	217,223	100	3707
West Midlands	1450	227,720	87	3886
Greater Manchester	1650	283,040	110	4830
Metropolitan	6009	851,520	112	14,530

Map 4.7. Supply and demand of male young offender institute places, 2009

The Ministry of Justice figures from June 2009 show 8,593 male prisoners aged 18–20, and 353 female prisoners aged 18–20. Columns 2 and 3 in the table are taken from the Ministry of Justice publication England and Wales 2008 Annex A: Additional tables (www.justice.gov.uk/publications/criminalannual.htm). Columns 4 and 5 are estimates based on the convictions data and the number of 18–20 year olds in prison.

Criminal Justice Area	Male aged 18–20 found guilty or cautioned ⁽¹⁾ for, indictable offences by police force area, per 100,000, 2008 ⁽²⁾	Female aged 18–20 found guilty or cautioned ⁽¹⁾ for, indictable offences by police force area, per 100,000, 2008 ⁽²⁾	Est. male 18–20 prisoners originating from this CJA, 2009	Est. female 18–20 prisoners originating from this CJA, 2009
Avon and Somerset	4193	795	197	9
Bedfordshire	5228	1288	90	5
Cambridgeshire	4069	781	97	4
Cheshire	5482	907	143	6
Cleveland	6812	1218	116	5
Cumbria	5771	1233	71	4
Derbyshire	4018	800	105	5
Devon & Cornwall	3291	647	152	7
Dorset	4192	769	80	3
Durham	5199	1097	102	5
Dyfed-Powys	5935	1269	90	4
Essex	4511	897	225	10
Gloucestershire	5459	1217	85	4
Greater Manchester	5727	908	462	17
Gwent	5803	752	87	3
Hampshire	4447	755	260	10
Hertfordshire	5657	1043	153	7
Humberside	4627	730	121	4
Kent	4718	829	212	9
Lancashire	5892	949	262	10
Leicestershire	3553	696	122	6
Lincolnshire	5812	1139	103	5
London	6844	1069	1420	51
Merseyside	7029	647	323	7
Norfolk	4825	894	107	5
North Wales	5926	786	112	3
North Yorkshire	3509	570	78	3
Northamptonshire	5654	1197	103	5
Northumbria	6804	1337	313	14
Nottinghamshire	5855	1202	209	10
South Wales	4547	997	195	10
South Yorkshire	6094	1198	264	12
Staffordshire	5017	1070	164	8
Suffolk	5768	1266	100	5
Surrey	3943	725	111	5
Sussex	4811	937	193	9
Thames Valley	4800	783	315	12
Warwickshire	5814	865	81	3
West Mercia	5069	922	157	7
West Midlands	6496	1257	583	26
West Yorkshire	4966	1058	364	18
Wiltshire	4194	853	66	3
Total			8593	357

(1) For motoring offences, only persons found guilty are included; these offences may attract written warnings, which are not included in this table. (2) Excludes convictions data for Cardiff magistrates court for April, July and August 2008

Map 4.8. Supply and demand of female adult offender places, 2009

The Ministry of Justice figures from June 2009 show 4296 female prisoners aged 21-plus. Column 2 in the table is taken from Table 16 of England and Wales 2008 Annex A: Additional tables (MoJ, *ibid*). Column 3 contains estimates based on the convictions data and the number of adult females in prison.

Criminal Justice Area	Female aged 21+ found guilty or cautioned for, indictable offences by police force area, per 100,000, 2008	Estimated female aged 21+ prisoners originating from this CJA, 2009
Avon and Somerset	219	99
Bedfordshire	296	48
Cambridgeshire	243	52
Cheshire	270	78
Cleveland	537	85
Cumbria	277	40
Derbyshire	186	53
Devon & Cornwall	172	85
Dorset	189	40
Durham	289	51
Dyfed-Powys	252	37
Essex	221	121
Gloucestershire	251	42
Greater Manchester	357	256
Gwent	251	40
Hampshire	203	108
Hertfordshire	230	69
Humberside	231	60
Kent	207	97
Lancashire	327	134
Leicestershire	203	55
Lincolnshire	248	50
London	314	654
Merseyside	360	142
Norfolk	208	52
North Wales	231	45
North Yorkshire	197	45
Northamptonshire	261	49
Northumbria	436	178
Nottinghamshire	380	115
South Wales	320	113
South Yorkshire	433	160
Staffordshire	276	84
Suffolk	245	50
Surrey	140	44
Sussex	242	110
Thames Valley	207	125
Warwickshire	196	29
West Mercia	202	69
West Midlands	419	302
West Yorkshire	328	201
Wiltshire	140	25
Total		4296

Appendix E. The age of prisons and young offenders institutions in England and Wales

Prison/YOI	Date opened	Years since built/opened	Notes
Buckley Hall	2006	3	
Peterborough	2005	4	
Bristol	2004	5	
Leeds	2001	8	
Stocken	2001	8	
Castington	2000	9	
Wealstun	1999	10	
Lindholme	1998	11	
Frankland	1997	12	
New Hall	1997	12	
Ashfield	1996	13	Opened as a prison in 1996, date built not known
Brixton	1994	15	
Morton Hall	1994	15	
Eastwood Park	1993	16	
Acklington	1992	17	
Coldingley	1992	17	
Dovegate	1992	17	
Hull	1992	17	
Kirkham	1992	17	
Latchmere House	1992	17	
Leyhill	1992	17	
Nottingham	1992	17	
Bronzefield	1991	18	
Forest Bank	1991	18	
Manchester	1991	18	
Shrewsbury	1991	18	
Leicester	1989	20	
Cardiff	1988	21	
Featherstone	1988	21	
Wormwood Scrubs	1988	21	
Bullwood Hall	1987	22	
Winchester	1987	22	
Whatton	1986	23	
Blantyre House	1985	24	
Kingston	1985	24	
Prescoed	1985	24	
Thorn Cross	1985	24	
Wolds	1985	24	
Cookham Wood	1983	26	
Warren Hill	1982	27	
Wandsworth	1980	29	

Prison/YOI	Date opened	Years since built/opened	Notes
Spring Hill	1979	30	
Gartree	1978	31	
Liverpool	1977	32	
Lowdham Grange	1977	32	
Elmley	1974	35	
Glen Parva	1974	35	
Deerbolt	1973	36	
Belmarsh	1972	37	
Risley	1970s	37	
Highpoint	1971	38	
Garth	1969	40	
Onley	1968	41	
Birmingham	1967	42	
Hollesley Bay	1966	43	
Ford	1965	44	In 1995 old prisons merged. These prisons had been open since 1965
Gloucester	1965	44	
Low Newton	1965	44	
Shepton Mallet	1964	45	
Stoke Heath	1964	45	
Hewell	1963	46	
Swinfen Hall	1963	46	
Woodhill	1963	46	
Canterbury	1962	47	
Channings Wood	1962	47	
Parc	1962	47	
Styal	1962	47	
The Mount	1962	47	
Hindley	1961	48	
Drake Hall	1960	49	
Preston	1960	49	
Swaleside	1960	49	
Rye Hill	1958	51	
Wetherby	1958	51	
Dartmoor	1955	54	
Full Sutton	1955	54	
Whitemoor	1954	55	
Swansea	1953	56	
Wayland	1953	56	
Holloway	1950	59	
Chelmsford	1949	60	
Dorchester	1948	61	
Wymott	1948	61	
Erlestoke	1946	63	
High Down	1946	63	Formed in 2008 as an amalgamation of 3 older prisons, Hewell Grange originally opened 1946

Prison/YOI	Date opened	Years since built/opened	Notes
Huntercombe	1946	63	
Send	1946	63	
Rochester	1941	68	
Norwich	1939	70	
Pentonville	1938	71	
Lancaster Castle	1935	74	
Lancaster Farms	1933	76	
Brinsford	1910	99	
Werrington	1895	114	Bought in 1955 by the prison service
North Sea Camp	1891	118	
Littlehey	1890	119	
Lewes	1887	122	
Moorland Open	1886	123	
Holme House	circa 1880	129	
Bullingdon	1877	132	
Usk	1877	132	
Stafford	1874	135	
Everthorpe	1872	137	
Ashwell	1870	139	
Standford Hill	1870	139	
Kennet	1868	141	
Reading	1861	148	
Haverigg	1855	154	
Feltham	1853	156	
East Sutton Par	1852	157	
Moorland Closed	1851	158	
Askham Grange	circa 1850	159	
Kirklevington Grange	1849	160	
Wakefield	1849	160	
Portland	1848	161	
Altcourse	1847	162	
Aylesbury	1847	162	
Downview	1847	162	
Exeter	1844	165	
Sudbury	1844	165	
Maidstone	1842	167	
Ranby	1840	169	Closed, changed use and became civilian prison in 1948
Foston Hall	1830	179	
Edmunds Hill	1825	184	
Bedford	1819	190	Has since been expanded
Isle of Wight	1819	190	
Lincoln	1819	190	
Grendon	1809	200	
Durham	1808	201	

Prison/YOI	Date opened	Years since built/opened	Notes
Blundeston	1805	204	Formed in 2009 amalgamating Parkhurst (1805), Albany (early 1960s), Camp Hill (1912)
Long Lartin	1801	208	Has since been expanded
Wellingborough	1794	215	
Northallerton	1783	226	
Doncaster	1782	227	
The Verne	1610	399	Closed in 1930; reopened in 1966 as a civilian prison
Guys Marsh	1594	415	Most current buildings are Victorian

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